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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.



THE WORKS OF  
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.  
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*WHISTON'S TRANSLATION,*

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VOL. III.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, BOOK XIV. TO END.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN.

1889.

CHISWICK PRESS: C. WHITTINGHAM AND CO., TOOKS COURT,  
CHANCERY LANE.

## CONTENTS.

### ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

#### BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

	PAGE
Chap. I. The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom ; and how they made an Agreement that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private Life : as also, how Hyrcanus, a little afterwards, was persuaded by Antipater to flee to Aretas . . . . .	1
Chap. II. How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem ; and how Scaurus, the Roman General, raised the Siege. Concerning the Death of Onias . . . . .	4
Chap. III. How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey to discuss who ought to have the Kingdom ; and how, upon the Flight of Aristobulus to the Fortress of Alexandrium, Pompey led his army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortresses of which he was possessed . . . . .	6
Chap. IV. How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City and took it by Storm ; also what other things he did in Judæa . . . . .	10
Chap. V. How Scaurus made Peace with Aretas. And what Gabinius did in Judæa, after he had conquered Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus . . . . .	14
Chap. VI. How Gabinius captured Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again ; also how Gabinius, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabatæans in Battle . . . . .	16

Chap. VII. How Crassus went into Judæa, and pillaged the Temple; and marched against the Parthians, and perished with his army. Also how Cassius made himself master of Syria, and put a stop to the incursion of the Parthians, and then went into Judæa . . . . .	19
Chap. VIII. How the Jews became Confederate with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cæsar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians . . . . .	22
Chap. IX. How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, because of the Jews' envy of Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus . . . . .	27
Chap. X. The Honours that were paid the Jews; and the Alliances that were made by the Romans, and other Nations, with them . . . . .	31
Chap. XI. How Murcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus' treachery; and how, after the death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judæa; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod . . . . .	44
Chap. XII. Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, from Judæa, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much Money; on which Account he would not hear those that would have accused Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews . . . . .	48
Chap. XIII. How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarchs after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judæa, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's Flight; and the Afflictions that Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured . . . . .	52
Chap. XIV. How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in haste also to Rome: and how, by promising a great deal of money to Antony, he was made by the Senate and Augustus King of the Jews . . . . .	60
Chap. XV. How Herod sailed from Italy to Judæa, and fought against Antigonus; also what other things happened in Judæa about this Time . . . . .	64
Chap. XVI. How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Sossius, by Force, and how the Reign of the Asamonæans was put an end to . . . . .	74

## BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH  
OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

	PAGE
Chap. I. Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus' Friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus . . . . .	78
Chap. II. How Hyrcanus was set at liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod, and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made High Priest . . . . .	80
Chap. III. How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, took care that he should be murdered in a little time : and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus ; as also concerning Joseph and Mariamne . . . . .	84
Chap. IV. How Cleopatra, when she had got from Antony some parts of Judea and Arabia, came into Judæa ; and how Herod gave her many Presents, and conducted her on her way back to Egypt . . . . .	91
Chap. V. How Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and after they had fought many Battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Ruler of their Nation ; as also concerning a great Earthquake . . . . .	95
Chap. VI. How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hastened away to Augustus, and obtained the Kingdom from him also ; and how, a little time afterwards, he entertained Augustus in a most honourable manner . . . . .	103
Chap. VII. How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterwards Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the Sons of Babas also . . . . .	109
Chap. VIII. How ten of the Citizens [of Jerusalem] made a Conspiracy against Herod, because of the foreign Practices he had introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country. Concerning the building of Sebaste and Cæsarea, and other Erections of Herod . . . . .	119
Chap. IX. Concerning the Famine that happened in Judæa and Syria ; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt Cæsarea, and other Greek Cities . . . . .	125

Chap. X. How Herod sent his Sons to Rome; also how he was accused by Zenodorus and the Gadarenes, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the Good-will of Augustus. Also concerning the Pharisees, the Essenes, and Manahem . . . . .	132
Chap. XI. How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning the Tower which he called Antonia . . . . .	138

## BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.—FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

Chap. I. A Law of Herod about Housebreakers. Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom Herod yet provides Wives . . . . .	146
Chap. II. How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them . . . . .	148
Chap. III. How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family because of his preferring Antipater, his eldest Son, to the rest, and how Alexander took that Injury very much to heart . . . . .	156
Chap. IV. How, during Antipater's Abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Augustus, and accused them. Alexander's Defence of himself before Augustus, and Reconciliation with his Father . . . . .	159
Chap. V. How Herod celebrated Games, to take place every fifth Year, upon the Building of Cæsarea; and how he built and adorned many other Places in a magnificent manner; and how he did many other Actions gloriously . . . . .	166
Chap. VI. An Embassage of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Augustus, concerning the Complaints they had to make against the Greeks; with Copies of the Letters which Augustus and Agrippa wrote to the Cities for them . . . . .	170
Chap. VII. How, upon his going down into David's Tomb, the Troubles in Herod's Family greatly increased . . . . .	173
Chap. VIII. How Herod arrested Alexander, and put him in prison, and how Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled him to his Father Herod again . . . . .	180

	PAGE
Chap. IX. Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonites ; how Syllaus accused Herod before Augustus ; and how Herod, when Augustus was angry with him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome . . . . .	186
Chap. X. How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's Sons, and how their Father put them in prison, and wrote to Augustus about them. Of Syllaus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus . . . . .	191
Chap. XI. How Herod, by Permission of Augustus, accused his sons before a Council of Judges at Berytus ; and what Tero suffered for using too much Liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Execution of the young Men, and their Burial at Alexandrium . . . . .	199

## BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

Chap. I. How Antipater was hated by all the Nation for the Death of his Brothers ; and how, for that Reason, he courted his Friends at Rome, by giving them many Presents ; as he did also to Saturninus, the Governor of Syria, and to others. Also concerning Herod's Wives and Children . . . . .	206
Chap. II. Concerning the Babylonian Jew Zamaris. Also concerning the Plots laid by Antipater against his Father. Also about the Pharisees . . . . .	209
Chap. III. Of the Enmity between Herod and Pheroras ; how Herod sent Antipater to Augustus ; and of the Death of Pheroras . . . . .	213
Chap. IV. Pheroras' Wife is accused by his Freedmen of poisoning him ; and how Herod, upon examining the Matter by Torture, found the Poison ; but also that it had been prepared for himself by his son Antipater ; and how, upon Inquiry by Torture, he discovered the dangerous Designs of Antipater . . . . .	215
Chap. V. Antipater sails Home from Rome to his Father ; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then Governor of Syria ; and how he was imprisoned till the Emperor should decide on the Case . . . . .	219
Chap. VI. Concerning the Illness that Herod had, and the Rebellion which the Jews raised in consequence, as also the Punishment of the Rebellious . . . . .	229

	PAGE
Chap. VII. Herod has thoughts of killing himself with his own hands, and a little afterwards orders Antipater to be slain . . . . .	235
Chap. VIII. Concerning Herod's Death, Testament, and Burial . . . . .	236
Chap. IX. How the People raised a Rebellion against Archelaus, and how he Sailed to Rome . . . . .	239
Chap. X. An Insurrection of the Jews against Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment . . . . .	247
Chap. XI. An Embassy of the Jews to Augustus, and how he confirmed Herod's Testament . . . . .	255
Chap XII. Concerning a spurious Alexander . . . . .	259
Chap. XIII. How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienne . . . . .	261

### BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE  
BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS, TO THE DEPARTURE OF  
THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

Chap. I. How Cyrenius was sent by Augustus to take a Valuation of Syria and Judæa; and how Coponius was sent to be Procurator of Judæa; also of Judas of Galilee, and the Sects that were among the Jews . . . . .	264
Chap. II. How Herod and Philip built several Cities in Honour of Cæsar Augustus. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; also concerning Phraates and the Parthians . . . . .	268
Chap. III. Insurrection of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, and what befell Paulina and the Jews at Rome . . . . .	273
Chap. IV. How the Samaritans made a Tumult, and how Pilate slew many of them: also how Pilate was accused, and what was done by Vitellius as regarded the Jews and the Parthians . . . . .	278
Chap. V. Herod the Tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; also concerning the Death of John the Baptist; and how Vitellius went up to Jerusalem; together with some Account of Agrippa, and of the Posterity of Herod the Great . . . . .	282
Chap. VI. How Agrippa sailed for Rome to Tiberius; and how, upon his being accused by his own freedman, he was put in prison; and how he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius' death, and was made King of the Tetrarchy of Philip . . . . .	288

	PAGE
Chap. VII. How Herod the Tetrarch was exiled to Lugdunum . . . . .	302
Chap. VIII. Concerning the Embassage of the Jews to Caius, and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his Statue . . . . .	305
Chap. IX. What befell the Jews that were in Babylon, because of two Brothers, Asinæus and Anilæus . . . . .	314

## BOOK XIX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF.—FROM  
THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON, TO  
FADUS, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

Chap. I. How Caius was slain by Chærea Cassius . . . . .	325
Chap. II. How the Senators wished to restore the Republic ; but the soldiers were for preserving the Monarchy. The Murder of Caius' Wife and Daughter. The character of Caius . . . . .	345
Chap. III. How Claudius was seized, and brought out of his House, and taken to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassage to him . . . . .	354
Chap. IV. What King Agrippa did for Claudius, and how Claudius, when he had become Emperor, com- manded the Murderers of Caius to be slain . . . . .	358
Chap. V. How Claudius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominions, and how he published an Edict in behalf of the Jews . . . . .	363
Chap. VI. What was done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he had returned to Judæa : and what Petronius wrote in behalf of the Jews to the Inhabitants of Doris . . . . .	366
Chap. VII. Concerning Silas, and why King Agrippa was angry with him. How Agrippa began to surround Jeru- salem with a wall ; and what Benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of Berytus . . . . .	369
Chap. VIII. What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death ; and how he died . . . . .	372
Chap. IX. What happened after the Death of Agrippa ; and how Claudius, on account of the Youth and Un- skilfulness of Agrippa Junior, sent Cuspius Fadus to be Governor of Judæa, and of the entire Kingdom of Agrippa . . . . .	375

## BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.—  
FROM FADUS TO FLORUS.

	PAGE
Chap. I. A Quarrel between the Philadelphians and the Jews; also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest . . . . .	377
Chap. II. How Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the Poor with Corn when there was a great Famine at Jerusalem . . . . .	379
Chap. III. How Artabanus, King of Parthia, afraid of the Plots of his Subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his Kingdom; as also how Vardanes, his son, denounced War against Izates . . . . .	384
Chap. IV. How Izates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians; and how, by the Providence of God, he was delivered out of their hands . . . . .	387
Chap. V. Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilæan; as also what calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover . . . . .	390
Chap. VI. How a Quarrel happened between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences . . . . .	393
Chap. VII. Felix is made Governor of Judæa; also concerning Agrippa Junior and his Sisters . . . . .	396
Chap. VIII. How, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded as Emperor, as also what barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors that arose while Felix and Festus were Governors of Judæa . . . . .	398
Chap. IX. Concerning Albinus, under whose Governorship James was slain, also what Edifices were built by Agrippa . . . . .	404
Chap. X. An enumeration of the High Priests . . . . .	408
Chap. XI. Concerning Gessius Florus the Governor, who forced the Jews to take up arms against the Romans. Conclusion of the Antiquities of the Jews . . . . .	411

## ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

### BOOK XIV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM  
THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF  
ANTIGONUS.

#### CHAP. I.

*The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom ; and how they made an Agreement that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus live a private Life : as also, how Hyrcanus, a little afterwards, was persuaded by Antipater to flee to Aretas.*

##### § 1.

I HAVE related the reign of queen Alexandra and her death in the previous book, and will now speak of what followed next, having nothing so much at heart as this, that I may omit no facts, either from ignorance or fault of memory. For I am upon the history and relation of such things as most people are unacquainted with because of their antiquity, and I aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from words well arranged, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of my readers, that they may imbibe the knowledge of what I write with satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal end that authors ought to aim at is to speak accurately and truly, for the satisfaction of those that are unacquainted with the transactions, and obliged to believe what writers tell them.

§ 2. Now Hyrcanus began his high priesthood in the third

year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was also called Creticus, were consuls at Rome. And Aristobulus directly began to make war against him, and as it came to a battle at Jericho, many of the soldiers of Hyrcanus deserted him, and went over to his brother; upon which Hyrcanus fled into the citadel, where Aristobulus' wife and children had been imprisoned by his mother, as I have said already, and attacked and overcame his adversaries that had fled to the temple precincts. And when he had sent a message to his brother to treat with him, he laid aside his enmity to him on these conditions, that Aristobulus should be king, and that he should live without meddling in public affairs, and quietly enjoy his private fortune. When they had agreed upon these terms in the temple, and had confirmed the agreement with oaths, and the giving one another their right hands, and embracing one another in the sight of the whole multitude, they departed, Aristobulus to the palace, and Hyrcanus, as a private man, to the house of Aristobulus.

§ 3. But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumæan, called Antipater, who was very rich, and by nature an energetic and factious man; he was at enmity with Aristobulus, and had differences with him, from his goodwill to Hyrcanus. Nicolaus of Damascus says indeed that Antipater was of the stock of the leading Jews who returned from Babylon into Judæa; but that assertion of his was made to gratify Herod, who was Antipater's son, and who, by certain revolutions of fortune, came afterwards to be king of the Jews, whose history I shall give in its proper place. Now this Antipater was at first called Antipas, and that was his father's name also, of whom they relate that king Alexander and his wife made him governor of all Idumæa, and that he made a league of friendship with those Arabians and Gazites and Ascalonites that thought as he did, and by many and large presents made them his fast friends. But the younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid that he might do him some mischief because of his hatred to him, so he stirred up the most powerful of the Jews privately against him by detraction, and said that it was

wrong to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had got the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother out of it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by primogeniture. And he perpetually made the same speeches to Hyrcanus, and told him, that his own life would be in danger, unless he was on his guard, and got rid of Aristobulus ; for he said that the friends of Aristobulus omitted no opportunity of advising him to kill him, as being then, and not before, sure to retain the kingdom. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these words of his, being of a good disposition, and one that did not readily, owing to his mild character, listen to calumny. This temper of his, not disposing him to meddle in public affairs, and want of spirit, made him appear to spectators degenerate and unmanly ; while Aristobulus was of a contrary temper, an active man and wide awake.

§ 4. When Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not attend to what he said, he ceased not day by day to charge feigned crimes upon Aristobulus, and to calumniate him as desirous to kill him, and by being always at him he at last with great difficulty persuaded him to flee to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and promised, that if he would comply with his advice, he would also himself assist him. When Hyrcanus heard this, he said that it was for his advantage to flee to Aretas ; for Arabia is a country that borders upon Judæa. However, Hyrcanus sent Antipater first to the king of Arabia, in order to receive assurances from him, that when he should come as a suppliant to him, he would not deliver him up to his enemies. And Antipater, having received such assurances, returned to Hyrcanus to Jerusalem. Not long afterwards he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and travelled fast, and brought him to the city called Petra,<sup>1</sup> where the palace of Aretas was ; and as he was a very intimate friend of that king's he urged him to bring back Hyrcanus into Judæa, and continued his suit every day without intermission, and also offered him presents, and at last he prevailed with Aretas. Moreover, Hyrcanus promised him, that when he had been restored, and had recovered his kingdom, he would give back the territory and twelve cities which his father Alexander had

<sup>1</sup> Petra, near Mount Hor, to the east of the 'Arabah.

taken from the Arabians, namely, Medaba,<sup>1</sup> Naballo,<sup>2</sup> Libias,<sup>3</sup> Tharabasa,<sup>2</sup> Agalla,<sup>4</sup> Athone,<sup>2</sup> Zoara,<sup>5</sup> Oronæ,<sup>6</sup> Marissa,<sup>7</sup> Rydda,<sup>2</sup> Lusa,<sup>2</sup> and Oryba.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. II.

*How Aretas and Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem; and how Scaurus, the Roman General, raised the Siege. Concerning the Death of Onias.*

### § 1.

AFTER these promises had been made to Aretas, he marched against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, and beat him in battle. And as after that victory many went over to Hyrcanus as deserters, Aristobulus was left alone, and fled to Jerusalem. Upon this the king of Arabia took all his army, and made an assault upon the temple, and besieged Aristobulus therein, the people still supporting Hyrcanus and assisting him in the siege, while none but the priests continued with Aristobulus. So Aretas united the forces of the Arabians and Jews together, and pressed on the siege vigorously. As this happened at the time when the feast of Unleavened Bread, which we call the Passover, was being celebrated, the principal men among the Jews left the country and fled into Egypt. Now there was one whose name was Onias, a righteous man and beloved of God, who, in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayer God had heard, and had sent rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this civil

<sup>1</sup> *Medeba*, east of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The Beth-Aram of Josh. xiii. 27, now *Tell er-Râmeh*, N.E. of the Dead Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Eglaim of Isaiah xv. 8, which Eusebius places eight miles S. of Ar of Moab.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the later Zoar in the *Ghor es-Sâfi*, S.E. of the Dead Sea.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the Horonaim of Is. xv. 5, and Jer. xlvi. 3, 5, 34. Site unknown.

<sup>7</sup> Mareshah, *Kh. Mer'ash*.

war would last a long while. However, they brought him to the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner utter imprecations on Aristobulus and those of his faction. And when, upon his refusing and making excuses, he was still compelled to speak by the multitude, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the king of the whole world, since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are also thy priests, I beseech thee, that thou wilt neither hearken to the prayers of those against these, nor bring to effect what these pray against those." And the wicked Jews who stood around him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stoned him to death.

§ 2. But God punished them immediately for this barbarity, and took vengeance on them for the murder of Onias, in the manner following. As the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that the feast called the Passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; and those that were with Aristobulus wanted victims, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with such, and assured them they should have as much money for them as they wished; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmæ for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the priests willingly undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it to them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the victims, but arrived at that height of wickedness as to break the promises they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with victims. And when the priests found they had been cheated, and that the agreements that had been made were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was bought for eleven drachmæ.

§ 3. Meantime Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria, as he was himself in Armenia making war against Tigranes: and

when Scaurus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had just taken that city, he pushed on into Judæa. And when he was come there, ambassadors came to him both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, for both asked him to assist them. And as both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus' promise, for he was rich and had a great soul, and desired to obtain nothing but what was fair, whereas the other was poor, and mean, and made incredible promises for greater advantages. Nor was it the same thing to take a city by storm, which was exceedingly strong and powerful, as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a quantity of Nabatæans, who were no very warlike people. He therefore made an agreement with Aristobulus for the reasons before mentioned, and took his money, and raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. Then Scaurus returned to Damascus again, and Aristobulus with a great army marched against Aretas and Hyrcanus, and fought them at a place called Papyron,<sup>1</sup> and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, among whom fell Phallion also, the brother of Antipater.

### CHAP. III.

*How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey to discuss who ought to have the Kingdom; and how, upon the Flight of Aristobulus to the Fortress of Alexandrium, Pompey led his army against him, and ordered him to deliver up the Fortresses of which he was possessed.*

#### § 1.

A LITTLE afterwards Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Cœle-Syria, and there came to him ambassadors from all Syria, and Egypt, and from Judæa also. For Aristobulus sent him a great present, which was a

<sup>1</sup> A town or river, the locality of which is unknown. The battle took place in 63 B.C.

golden vine,<sup>1</sup> and worth five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in the following words. “There came also an embassage out of Egypt and a crown of the value of four thousand pieces of gold, and out of Judæa there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: they called it TERPOLE (*Delight*). However, I myself saw that present deposited at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inscription, ‘The gift of Alexander the king of the Jews.’ It was valued at five hundred talents, and the report is, that Aristobulus, the ruler of the Jews sent it.”

§ 2. A little time afterwards came ambassadors again to him, Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus on behalf of Aristobulus; which last also accused those who had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one having had three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which proceeding he made those two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had differences with one another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he took his army out of their winter quarters, and marched into the country near Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamea,<sup>2</sup> that Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and subdued the country of Ptolemy Mennæus (a wicked man, and not less so than Dionysius of Tripolis, who had been beheaded, who was also his rela-

<sup>1</sup> This ‘golden vine,’ or ‘garden,’ seen by Strabo at Rome, has its inscription here as if it were the gift of Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, and not of Aristobulus himself, to whom yet Josephus ascribes it; and in order to prove the truth of that part of his history, introduces this testimony of Strabo; so that the ordinary copies seem to be here either erroneous or defective, and the original reading seems to have been either ‘Aristobulus,’ instead of ‘Alexander,’ with one Greek copy, or else ‘Aristobulus the son of Alexander,’ with the Latin copies, which last seems to me the most probable. For as to Archbishop Usher’s conjectures, that Alexander made it, and dedicated it to God in the temple, and that thence Aristobulus took it, and sent it to Pompey, they are both very improbable, and no way agreeable to Josephus, who would hardly have avoided the recording both these uncommon points of history, had he known of them; nor would either the Jewish nation, or even Pompey himself, then have relished such a flagrant instance of sacrilege.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Kal’át el-Medyk*, in Syria.

tion by marriage), who however bought off the punishment of his crimes for a thousand talents, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also razed to the ground the fortress of Lysias,<sup>1</sup> of which Silas a Jew was tyrant. And when he had passed by the cities of Heliopolis<sup>2</sup> and Chalcis,<sup>3</sup> and crossed over the mountain which is the boundary of Cœle-Syria, he went from Pella<sup>4</sup> to Damascus; and there he carefully heard the Jews, and their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at variance with one another, as also the nation against them both, for it did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they had received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, whereas though Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. As to Hyrcanus, he complained, that although he was the elder brother, he was deprived of the prerogative of his birth by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having taken away the rest from him by force. He also stated that the raids which had been made into their neighbours' countries, and the piratical expeditions by sea, were owing to him, and that the nation would not have revolted, had not Aristobulus been a man given to violence and disorder. And there were no fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best reputation, who confirmed this accusation, being suborned by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged on the other hand that it was Hyrcanus' own nature, which was inactive, and so contemptible, that had caused him to be deprived of the government; and that, as for himself, he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear it should be transferred to others, and as to his title of king, it was no other than the same title that his father had taken before him. And he called as witnesses of this some persons who were both young and insolent, whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, made them objectionable, for they appeared not as though they were to

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Kinnisrin*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Ba'albek*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tubakât Fahil*, east of Jordan.

plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they formed part of a triumphal procession.

§ 3. When Pompey had heard these two, and had condemned Aristobulus for his violent proceedings, he then spoke civilly to them, and sent them away, and told them that when he came into their country again he would settle all their affairs, after he had first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabatæans. Meantime he ordered them to be quiet, and at the same time paid great attention to Aristobulus, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which Aristobulus did: for without waiting for that further determination which Pompey had promised, he went to the city of Dium,<sup>1</sup> and thence marched into Judæa.

§ 4. Pompey was angry at this behaviour, and taking with him the army which he was leading against the Nabatæans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus and the rest of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, marched against Aristobulus. And as he passed by Pella and Scythopolis,<sup>2</sup> he came to Coreæ,<sup>3</sup> which is the first town in Judæa as one passes through the interior of the country, where he came to a most beautiful fortress (that was built on the top of a mountain), called Alexandrium,<sup>4</sup> to which Aristobulus had fled, and Pompey sent his commands to him, that he should come to him. Accordingly, as many urged him not to make war with the Romans, he came down, and when he had disputed with his brother the right to the government, he went up again to the citadel, as Pompey gave him leave to do. And this he did two or three times, flattering himself with the hopes of having the kingdom granted him, and pretending he would obey Pompey in whatever he commanded, although at the same time he retired to his fortress, that he might not depress himself too low, and that he might be prepared for war, in case Pompey, as he feared, should transfer the government to Hyrcanus. But when Pompey ordered Aristobulus to deliver up the fortresses he held, and to send written orders to their governors in his own hand-

<sup>1</sup> One of the towns of Decapolis, not yet identified.

<sup>2</sup> Beisán.

<sup>3</sup> Now Keriüt.

<sup>4</sup> Now Kefr Istūna.

writing for that purpose, for they had been forbidden to deliver them upon any other conditions, he obeyed indeed, but retired in dudgeon to Jerusalem, and made preparations for war. A little after this certain persons came out of Pontus, and informed Pompey, as he was on the way and leading his army against Aristobulus, that Mithridates was dead, having been slain by his son Pharnaces.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City and took it by Storm ; also what other things he did in Judæa.*

### § 1.

NOW Pompey pitched his camp at Jericho (where the palm-tree grows, and that balsam which is of all ointments the most precious, which upon any incision made in the wood with a sharp stone distils out like juice), and marched next morning to Jerusalem. Thereupon Aristobulus repented, and went to Pompey, and offered him money, and promised to receive him into Jerusalem, and begged that he would leave off the war, and do what he pleased peaceably. Then Pompey, upon his entreaty, forgave him, and sent Gabinius and some soldiers to receive the money and take possession of the city. But none of these promises were performed, but Gabinius returned, not only having been shut out of the city, but also having received none of the money promised, because Aristobulus' soldiers would not permit the agreement to be carried out. At this Pompey was very angry, and put Aristobulus into prison, and went himself to the city, which was strong on every side, excepting the north, which was not well fortified ; for there was a broad and deep ditch that ran round the city,<sup>1</sup> and included within it the temple, which was itself surrounded with a very strong stone wall.

<sup>1</sup> The particular depth and breadth of this ditch whence the stones for the wall about the temple were probably taken, are omitted in our copies of Josephus, but set down by Strabo, xvi. p. 763, from whom we learn, that this ditch was sixty feet deep, and 250 feet broad.—W.

§ 2. Now there was variance among the men that were within the city, for they did not agree as to what was to be done in their present circumstances, for some thought it best to deliver up the city to Pompey, but Aristobulus' party exhorted them to shut the gates and fight, because he was kept in prison. And these got the start of the others, and seized upon the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to stand a siege ; but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him. Then Pompey sent his lieutenant Piso with an army, and placed garrisons both in the city and in the palace to secure them, and fortified the houses that joined the temple, and all those that were outside but in the neighbourhood of it. And first he offered conditions to those within, but as they would not comply with what he invited them to, he fortified all the places thereabout, and Hyrcanus zealously assisted him in everything. And Pompey pitched his camp outside,<sup>1</sup> at the north end of the temple, where it was most open to attack, though even on that side great towers rose up, and a trench had been dug, and a deep ravine begirt it round about, for the parts towards the city were precipitous, and the bridge on which Pompey had entered in was broken down ; however, a bank was raised day by day with a great deal of labour, as the Romans cut down the trees all round. And when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the trench filled up with difficulty owing to its immense depth, Pompey had his engines and battering rams brought from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, kept battering the temple with his catapults. Now had it not been our national practice to rest on the seventh days, this bank would never have been completed, owing to the opposition the Jews would have made ; for though our law allows us to defend ourselves against those that commence a fight with us and assault us, it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies on the Sabbath-days while they do anything else.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves here to be noted, that this notion that offensive fighting was unlawful to the Jews, even under the utmost necessity, on the Sabbath-day, of which we hear nothing before the times of the

§ 3. Now when the Romans observed this, they threw no missiles at the Jews on those days which we call Sabbaths, nor did they come to a hand to hand fight, but raised up their bank and towers, and brought forward their engines that they might do execution the following day. And one may learn how very great piety we exercise towards God, and how much we observe his laws, from the fact that the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by fear during the siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning and at the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar, nor did they omit those sacrifices if any melancholy accident happened during the assaults. Indeed when the city was taken in the third month, on the day of the fast, in the hundred and seventh-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet did not those that offered the sacrifices leave them off, nor could they be compelled to run away, either from the fear they were in for their own lives, or from the numbers that had been already slain, thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them at the very altars, than to omit anything that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere tale to pass an encomium upon piety that was never displayed, but is the real truth, I appeal to all those that have written of the acts of Pompey, who bear me out, and among them to Strabo and Nicolaus, and also to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history.

§ 4. Now when the battering engine was applied, the greatest of the towers was shaken by it and fell down, and opened a breach in the walls, so the enemy poured in apace, and Cornelius Faustus, son of *the famous* Sulla, with his soldiers, first of all scaled the wall, and after him Furius the centurion, with those that followed him on the other side, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, scaled it in the middle, with a great body of men with him. And now all was full of slaughter, some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, there were some who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses and burned them, not being able to Maccabees, was the cause of Jerusalem's being taken by Pompey, by Sosius, and by Titus.—W.

bear their miseries. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few. Absalom, who was at once both uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus, was taken captive. And no small outrage was committed in the Holy of Holies, which before had been inaccessible and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that it was unlawful for any men to see but the high priests. There were there the golden table, the holy candlestick, and the pouring vessels, and a great quantity of spices; and besides these there were among the treasures two thousand talents of sacred money; but Pompey touched nothing of all this,<sup>1</sup> on account of his regard to religion, but in this point also acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order to those that had the charge of the temple to cleanse it, and to bring what offerings the law required to God; and he restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, not only because he had been useful to him in other respects, but also because he had hindered the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in the war. He also cut off the heads of those that had been the authors of the war, and bestowed fitting rewards on Cornelius Faustus and the others that had mounted the walls with such alacrity. And he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Cœle-Syria which the inhabitants of Judæa had formerly subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman prætor, and contracted the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara (which had been razed to the ground a little before), to gratify Demetrius of Gadara,<sup>2</sup> who was his freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, as Hippo,<sup>3</sup> and Scythopolis, and Pella,<sup>4</sup> and Dium,<sup>5</sup> and Samaria,<sup>6</sup> as also Marissa,<sup>7</sup> Azotus,<sup>8</sup> Jamnia,<sup>9</sup> and Arethusa,<sup>10</sup> to their

<sup>1</sup> This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Cicero, who says in his oration for Flaccus, that “Cnaeus Pompeius, when he was conqueror, and had taken Jerusalem, did not touch anything belonging to the temple.”—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Umm Keis.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sūsiyeh*, see Life, § 9.

<sup>4</sup> See note 4, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Sebastieh.*

<sup>7</sup> *Kh. Mer'ash.*

<sup>8</sup> *Esdūd.*

<sup>9</sup> *Yebnah.*

<sup>10</sup> Now *Restan*, sixteen miles from *Homs*, Emesa.

own inhabitants. And these were in the interior of the country, except those that had been razed to the ground. As to the maritime cities, as Gaza and Joppa and Dora<sup>1</sup> and Strato's Tower (which last Herod rebuilt in a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples, and changed its name to Cæsarea<sup>2</sup>), Pompey left all of them free, and joined them to the province of Syria.

§ 5. Now the causes of this misery which came upon Jerusalem were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by their being at variance with one another; for we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of the territory which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us in a short time more than ten thousand talents. And the royal authority, which was a dignity formerly bestowed on those that were high priests by right of their family, became the property of common men. But of these matters I shall treat in their proper place. And Pompey handed over Cœle-Syria, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, and two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and pushed on to Rome. He also bound Aristobulus and carried him and his children along with him, for he had two daughters, and as many sons; one of whom, Alexander, ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome with his sisters.

## CHAP. V.

*How Scaurus made Peace with Aretas. And what Gabinius did in Judæa, after he had conquered Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus.*

### § 1.

SCAURUS now made an expedition against Petra<sup>3</sup> in Arabia, and ravaged all the places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pinched by famine, Antipater furnished him with corn from Judæa, and with whatever else he wanted,

<sup>1</sup> Tantūrah.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, now Kaisarîyeh.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1, p. 3.

at the command of Hyrcanus. And Antipater, being sent to Aretas as an ambassador by Scaurus, because they were old friends, persuaded Aretas to give Scaurus a sum of money to prevent the ravaging of his country, and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. And Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war against him any longer, for he wanted peace as much as Aretas.

§ 2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, overran Judæa, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as commander of the Roman forces. He did many other considerable actions, and marched against Alexander, as Hyrcanus was no longer able to hold out against Alexander's power, but was already attempting to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had overthrown, although the Romans who were there restrained him from that. However, Alexander scoured all the country-side, and armed many of the Jews, and quickly got together ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified Alexandrium<sup>1</sup> (a fortress near Coreæ) and Machærus<sup>2</sup> near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore advanced against him, having sent on Mark Antony and other commanders. They armed such Romans as followed them, and besides them such Jews as were subject to them, who were led by Pitholaus and Malichus, and they also took with them the friendly contingent of Antipater, and met Alexander; and Gabinius himself followed with the heavy armed troops. Thereupon Alexander retired to near Jerusalem, where they fell upon one another, and a pitched battle ensued, in which the Romans slew about three thousand of their enemies, and took as many alive.

§ 3. Meantime Gabinius went to Alexandrium, and invited those that were in it to cessation of hostilities, and promised that their former offences should be forgiven. But as many of the enemy had pitched their camp before the fortress, the Romans attacked them, and Mark Antony fought bravely, and slew a great number, and seemed to come off with the greatest honour. So Gabinius left part of the army there to reduce the place, and he himself went into the other parts of Judæa, and gave orders to rebuild

<sup>1</sup> See note 4, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekaur*, see Jewish War, vii. 6, § 1.

all the cities that he came to that had been demolished. So Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon,<sup>1</sup> Raphia,<sup>2</sup> Dora, Marissa, Gaza, and not a few others were rebuilt. And as the men acted according to Gabinius' command, it came to pass at this time that those cities were safely inhabited, which had been desolate for a long time.

§ 4. When Gabinius had done thus throughout the country, he returned to Alexandrium, and as he pressed on the siege, Alexander sent an embassage to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences, and delivering up to him the fortresses Hyrcania and Machærus, and at last Alexandrium itself. All these fortresses Gabinius razed to the ground. And when Alexander's mother, who was on the side of the Romans, having her husband and other children at Rome, came to Gabinius, he granted her whatever she asked; and when he had settled matters with her, he restored Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him. And when he had appointed five councils, he divided the nation into the same number of parts, and these councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus,<sup>3</sup> the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris<sup>4</sup> in Galilee. So the Jews were now now freed from kingly rule, and were governed by an aristocracy.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Gabinius captured Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome again; also how Gabinius, as he returned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabataeans in Battle.*

### § 1.

NOW Aristobulus escaped from Rome to Judæa, and purposed to rebuild the fortress of Alexandrium, which had been recently demolished: so Gabinius sent

<sup>1</sup> *Agrippias*, see Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Raphia was twenty-two miles S.W. of Gaza; comp. Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hamath, now *Hama*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sefurieh*.

soldiers against him, and Sisenna and Antony and Servilius as their commanders, to hinder him from making himself master of the country again, and to recapture him. For indeed many of the Jews flocked to Aristobulus, on account of his former glory, as also because they were glad of a revolution. And one Pitholaus, lieutenant-general at Jerusalem, deserted to him with a thousand men, although many of those that joined him were unarmed. And when Aristobulus resolved to go to Machærus, he dismissed these, because they were so badly equipped (for they could not be useful to him in action), but he took with him about eight thousand that were armed, and set out. And as the Romans attacked them furiously, the Jews were beaten in the battle, though they fought valiantly, and were overcome by the enemy, and put to flight. And about five thousand of them were slain, and the rest being dispersed, tried, as well as they were able, to save themselves. However, Aristobulus had with him still above a thousand, and with them he fled to Machærus, and fortified the place, and though he had had ill success, he was still sanguine about his affairs. But when he had held out two days, and received many wounds, he was captured and brought before Gabinius, with his son Antigonus, who had also fled with him from Rome. Such was the fortune of Aristobulus, who was sent back again to Rome, and there retained in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months, and being indeed a noble person and one of a lofty soul. However, the senate let his children go, upon Gabinius' writing to them that he had promised their mother so much when she delivered up the fortresses to him ; and accordingly they then returned to Judæa.

§ 2. Now when Gabinius was making an expedition against the Parthians, and had already crossed over the Euphrates, he changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> But this has been related elsewhere. However, Antipater

<sup>1</sup> This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says, "That A. Gabinius, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king," &c. — W.

supplied the army which Gabinius despatched against Archelaus with corn and weapons and money. He also won over those Jews who were beyond Pelusium<sup>1</sup> to be his confederates, who guarded the passes that led into Egypt. But when he came back out of Egypt, he found Syria in disorder sedition and confusion, for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, having seized on the government a second time by force, made many of the Jews revolt to him, and marched over the country with a great army, and slew all the Romans he could light upon, and proceeded to besiege them at the mountain called Gerizim,<sup>2</sup> where they had retreated.

§ 3. Now when Gabinius found Syria in this condition, he sent on Antipater, who was a sensible man, to those that were rebellious, to try whether he could cure them of their madness, and persuade them to return to a better mind. And when he came to them, he brought many of them to a sound mind, and induced them to do what they ought to do. But he could not restrain Alexander, for he had an army of thirty thousand Jews, and met Gabinius, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and lost ten thousand of his men near mount Tabor.<sup>3</sup>

§ 4. Then Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city of Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's wishes, and went against the Nabatæans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates and Orsanæs, who were Parthian deserters who had come to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinius had performed great and glorious actions in his management of the war, he returned to Rome, and handed over his province to Crassus. Now Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews, but neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

<sup>1</sup> *Tineh*, not far from *Port Sáid*.

<sup>2</sup> Gerizim lay to the south of the valley in which Shechem, *Náblus*, was situated.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Jebel et-Tör*.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Crassus went into Judæa, and pillaged the Temple ; and marched against the Parthians, and perished with his army. Also how Cassius made himself master of Syria, and put a stop to the incursion of the Parthians, and then went into Judæa.*

## § 1.

NOW Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Judæa, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left (which amounted to two thousand talents), and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it (which was eight thousand talents). He also took a beam, which was made of solid beaten gold, of the weight of three hundred minæ. Now each mina with us weighs two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, whose name was Eleazar, who gave him this beam, not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and righteous man, but being intrusted with the custody of the veils belonging to the temple, which were of admirable beauty and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, and seeing that Crassus was bent on getting together money, and being alarmed for the safety of all the ornaments of the temple, he gave him this beam of gold as a ransom for the whole, but not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only, which he should give him, for it was worth many ten thousand [shekels]. Now this beam was in a wooden beam that was hollow, which was not known to anybody else, for Eleazar alone knew of it. And Crassus took away this beam, on condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, but afterwards broke his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the Holy of Holies.

§ 2. Let no one wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, since all the Jews throughout the world, and those that worshipped God, even in Asia and Europe, sent their contributions to it, and that from very ancient times. Nor is the largeness of these sums I have men-

tioned without attestation, nor is it due to our vanity, as if we had without ground raised it to so great a height: but there are many witnesses to it, especially Strabo of Cappadocia, who speaks as follows. "Mithridates sent to Cos,<sup>1</sup> and took the money which queen Cleopatra had deposited there, as also eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews." Now, we have no public money but what belongs to God. And it is evident that the Asiatic Jews removed this money to Cos from fear of Mithridates, for it is not probable that those in Judæa, who had a strong city and temple, would send their money to Cos, nor is it likely that the Jews, who were inhabitants of Alexandria, would do so either, since they were in no fear of Mithridates. And the same Strabo himself bears witness in another place, that at the time that Sulla passed over into Greece to fight against Mithridates, he sent Lucullus to put an end to a disturbance that our nation, of whom the world is full, had raised in Cyrene,<sup>2</sup> for he speaks as follows. "There were four classes of men in Cyrene; the first composed of citizens, the second of husbandmen, the third of resident aliens, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already got into all cities, and it is not easy to find a place in the world that has not received this tribe of men, and is not occupied by it. And it has come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene (as having the same governors), and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and especially cherish many of these Jews, and grow to great prosperity with them, following the Jewish customs. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt to dwell in, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs their nation, and dispenses justice, and sees to their contracts and laws, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. In Egypt indeed this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land which they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt. They also removed into Cyrene, because that land adjoins the government of Egypt, as does Judæa, or

<sup>1</sup> Now *Stanco*, an island nearly opposite the gulf of Halicarnassus.

<sup>2</sup> *el-Krenna*, in the *Tripoli* district, west of Egypt.

rather was formerly under the same government." And this is what Strabo says.

§ 3. Now when Crassus had settled all things as he himself pleased, he marched into Parthia, where both he himself and all his army perished, as has been related elsewhere. But Cassius fled to Syria, and made himself master of it, and stopped the Parthians, who, because of their victory over Crassus, made incursions into Syria. And he went again to Tyre, and into Judæa also. And he attacked Taricheæ,<sup>1</sup> and captured it at once, and took about thirty thousand Jews captives, and slew Pitholaus (who had imitated Aristobulus in his rebellious practices), at the instigation of Antipater, who had great influence with him, and was at that time held in very great repute by the Idumæans also, out of which nation he married a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men from Arabia, and her name was Cypros, and he had by her four sons, Phasaelus, and Herod (who afterwards became a king), and Joseph, and Pheroras, and one daughter called Salome. This Antipater cultivated also friendly relations with other potentates, and especially with the king of Arabia, in whose charge he placed his children, when he fought against Aristobulus. And Cassius removed his camp, and pushed on to the Euphrates, to meet those that were coming to attack him from that quarter, as has been related by others.

§ 4. But some time afterwards Julius Cæsar, when he had become master of Rome, and when Pompey and the senate had fled beyond the Ionian sea, freed Aristobulus from his bonds, and resolved to send him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right in that country, being an influential man. But Aristobulus had no enjoyment of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Cæsar, for those of Pompey's party were too much for him, and carried him off by poison, but those of Cæsar's party buried him. His dead body also lay for a long time embalmed in honey, till Antony afterwards sent it to Judæa, and caused it to be buried in the royal sepulchres. And Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander the son of Aristobulus,

<sup>1</sup> Kerak, on the south shore of the Sea of Galilee.

accused the young man of offences he had been guilty of earlier against the Romans, and cut off his head. And thus did he die at Antioch; but Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, who was the ruler of Chalcis<sup>1</sup> under Mount Libanus, welcomed his brothers, and sent his son Philippio to Ascalon<sup>2</sup> to Aristobulus' wife, and bade her send back with him her son Antigonus and her daughters, one of whom, whose name was Alexandra, Philippio fell in love with and married. But afterwards his father Ptolemy had him put to death, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brothers.

### CHAP. VIII.

*How the Jews became Confederate with Cæsar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Cæsar. The Honours which the Jews received from the Romans and Athenians.*

#### § 1.

NOW after Pompey was dead, and after the victory Cæsar gained over him,<sup>3</sup> Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs by the order of Hyrcanus, became very useful to Cæsar when he made war against Egypt. For when Mithridates of Pergamus<sup>4</sup> was bringing his auxiliary forces, and was not able to continue his march by Pelusium,<sup>5</sup> but was obliged to stay at Ascalon, Antipater went to him with three thousand armed Jews, and also got the principal men of the Arabians to come to his assistance; and it was owing to him that all the Syrians joined him also, being unwilling to appear behindhand in their zeal for Cæsar, viz. Iamblichus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium, and as its inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. And Antipater distinguished himself here, and was the first

<sup>1</sup> *Kinnisrin.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ascalán.*

<sup>3</sup> At Pharsalia.

<sup>4</sup> *Bergama*, on the west coast of Asia Minor, and north of Smyrna.

<sup>5</sup> *Tineh.*

who pulled down a part of the wall, and so opened a way for the others to enter into the city, and so Pelusium was taken. Now the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the district of Onias, tried to prevent Antipater and Mithridates and their soldiers passing over to Cæsar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to his party, because he was of the same race as them, and especially when he showed them the letters of Hyrcanus the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Cæsar, and to supply his army with presents and all things needful. Accordingly, when they saw that Antipater and the high priest were of the same sentiments, they did as they were desired. And when the Jews in the neighbourhood of Memphis<sup>1</sup> heard that these Jews had come over to Cæsar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them ; and he went and incorporated them also into his army.

§ 2. And when Mithridates had gone over the part called Delta,<sup>2</sup> he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called the Jewish camp.<sup>3</sup> Now Mithridates was on the right wing, and Antipater on the left ; and when the fight came on, the wing where Mithridates was gave way, and would have suffered extremely, had not Antipater come running to him with his own soldiers along the bank of the river, as he had already beaten the enemy opposite him ; and he delivered Mithridates, and put those Egyptians to flight who had been too much for him. He also took their camp, and continued in the pursuit of them, and called back Mithridates, who had retreated a great way, and had lost eight hundred soldiers, while Antipater had lost only forty. And Mithridates wrote an account of this battle to Cæsar, and declared that Antipater was the author both of the victory and his safety, so that Cæsar commended Antipater then, and made use of him during all the rest of the war in the most hazardous undertakings ; indeed he got wounded in some of the engagements.

§ 3. So when Cæsar, after some time, had finished the war, and sailed to Syria, he honoured Antipater greatly, and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and be-

<sup>1</sup> *Mitrahamy*, on the left bank of the Nile above Cairo.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Delta of Egypt, lying north of Cairo.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *Tell el-Yehudi*.

stowed on Antipater the privilege of citizenship of Rome, and freedom from taxes everywhere. Now it is reported by many, that Hyrcanus joined Antipater in this expedition, and went himself into Egypt. And Strabo of Cappadocia bears me out, when he says as follows on the authority of Asinius. "After Mithridates and Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews invaded Egypt." Nay, the same Strabo says again, in another place, on the authority of Hypsicrates, that "Mithridates at first set out alone, but Antipater, who had the care of Jewish affairs, was called by him to Ascalon, and mustered three thousand soldiers for him, and stirred up the other rulers, and Hyrcanus the high priest also took part in this expedition." This is what Strabo says.

§ 4. Now Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Cæsar, and lamented his father's fate, and complained that it was owing to his loyalty to him that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother beheaded by Scipio, and desired that he would take pity on him, as he had been ejected from his dominions. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of governing the nation by violence, and acting lawlessly to him. Antipater was present, and made his defence as to the accusations that were laid against him, and showed that Antigonus and his party were given to innovation, and were rebellious persons. He also reminded Cæsar of the labours he had undergone when he assisted him in his wars, relating what he had witnessed himself. He added, that Aristobulus was justly carried away to Rome, as one who was an enemy to the Romans, and could never be brought to be friendly to them, and that his brother had only his deserts from Scipio, being caught in the act of committing robberies; and that his punishment was not inflicted on him by way of violence or injustice by the perpetrator of it.

§ 5. When Antipater had made this speech, Cæsar appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest, and gave Antipater what position he himself should choose, and left the determination to himself, so he made him procurator of Judæa. He also gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up again the walls of his own city, on his asking that favour of him, for they had been demolished by Pompey. And

this grant he sent to the consuls at Rome, to be engraven in the Capitol. The decree of the senate was as follows.<sup>1</sup> “Lucius Valerius (the son of Lucius) the prætor, referred this to the senate, upon the Ides of December, in the Temple of Concord. There were present at the writing of this decree Lucius Coponius (the son of Lucius) of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe, concerning the affairs which Alexander the son of Jason, and Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, ambassadors of the Jews, good men and our allies, proposed, who came to renew that league of good-will and friendship with the Romans which existed before. They also brought a shield of gold, as a token of the alliance, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; and desired that letters might be given them, directed both to free cities and to kings, that their country and their havens might be in security, and that no one among them might receive any injury. It has therefore pleased [the senate] to make a league of friendship and good-will with them, and to bestow on them whatever they asked, and to accept of the shield which was brought by them.” This happened in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month of Panemus. Hyrcanus also received honours from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions, for they wrote and sent him a decree as follows. “Before the president and priest Dionysius, the son of Asclepiades, on the fifth day of the latter part of the month of Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their commanders, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles (the son of Menander) the

<sup>1</sup> Take Dr. Hudson's note upon this place, which I suppose to be the truth: “Here is some mistake in Josephus: for when he had promised us a decree for the restoration of Jerusalem, he brings in a decree of far greater antiquity, and that a league of friendship and union only. One may easily believe that Josephus gave order for one thing, and his amanuensis performed another, by transposing decrees that concerned the Hyrcani, and as deluded by the sameness of their names, for that belongs to the first high priest of this name [John Hyrcanus,] which Josephus ascribes to one that lived later, [Hyrcanus the son of Alexander Jannæus.] However, the decree which he proposes to set down follows a little lower, in the collection of Roman decrees that concerned the Jews, and is that dated when Cæsar was consul the fifth time.” See chap. 10, § 5.—W.

Alimusian was the scribe. In the month of Munychion, on the eleventh day of the Prytany, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus Erchieus and the fellow presidents with him put it to the vote of the people. Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, said : Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness ; and when any of the Athenians come to him, either as ambassadors, or on any private business, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have had several previous testimonies, it is now also decreed, on the motion of Theodosius, the son of Theodorus of Sunium,<sup>1</sup> who put the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his purpose is to do us all the good that is in his power, to honour this Hyrcanus with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demos and of the Graces ; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publicly in the theatre at the Dionysia, while the new tragedies are acting, and at the Panathenæan, Eleusinian, and gymnastic contests also ; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and maintains his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity ; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good, and repay them by suitable return ; and that he may be induced to continue in his affection to us, by the honours we have already paid him. Let ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we pay him, and to endeavour always to be doing some good to our city." This much shall suffice as to the honours that were paid to Hyrcanus by the Romans and the people of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> One of the principal fortresses of Attica, on the promontory now called *Cape Kolonnes*.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Antipater committed the care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, because of the Jews' envy of Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.*

## § 1.

NOW when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; and as soon as he had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, Antipater returned to Judæa, and immediately raised up the walls which had been thrown down by Pompey, and by his coming pacified the tumult which had been all over the country, both by threatening and advising the people to be quiet: for he told them if they would be on Hyrcanus' side, they would live happily, and pass their lives without disturbance in the enjoyment of their own possessions, but if they were influenced by hopes of what might come by revolution, and aimed to get gain thereby, they would find him a despot instead of a mild ruler, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans and Cæsar their bitter enemies instead of rulers; for they would never bear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself set in order the affairs of the country.

§ 2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and sluggish temper, Antipater made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem and the places in its vicinity, and committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then quite a young man, for he was but twenty-five years of age. But that youth of his was no impediment to him; but as he was a young man of noble spirit, he soon met with an opportunity of showing his courage. For finding that there was one Ezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who overran the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great troop of them, he took him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the robbers that were with him. For this action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians, for they were very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, and he purged it of them: so they sung songs in

his commendation in their villages and cities, for his having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And on account of this he became known to Sextus Cæsar, who was a relation of the great Cæsar's, and was now procurator of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby got, and became ambitious not to be behind him in deserving the same, so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will, as he governed the city himself, but did neither manage its affairs improperly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured to Antipater from the nation such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were absolute lord of the country. Yet did not this splendour of his, as frequently happens, diminish in the least in him his kindness and good faith to Hyrcanus.

§ 3. But now the principal men among the Jews, when they saw Antipater and his sons growing so much in the good-will of the nation, and in the revenues which they received from Judæa and from Hyrcanus' own wealth, became ill disposed to him. And indeed Antipater had contracted a friendship with the Roman emperors, and he had prevailed on Hyrcanus to send them money, but took it himself, and appropriated the intended present, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus', gift to them. Hyrcanus heard of this but took no heed to it: nay rather he was very glad of it: but the chief men of the Jews were in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and very desirous to play the tyrant, so they went to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons have already girded themselves with power? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee, nor think to escape danger by being so careless about thyself and the kingdom. For Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not deceive thyself with such a notion, they are evidently absolute lords, for Antipater's son Herod has slain Ezekias

and those that were with him, and has thereby transgressed our law, which has forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim;<sup>1</sup> yet has he ventured to do this without any authority from thee."

§ 4. Upon Hyrcanus hearing this, he listened to it, and the mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod fanned his indignation; for every day in the temple they continued to beseech the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. And Hyrcanus was so moved by all this, that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged against him. Accordingly he came, but his father advised him not to come like a private man, but with a body-guard for the security of his person; and when he had settled the affairs of Galilee in the best manner he could for his own advantage, to come for his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security on the journey, yet not with so great a force as might look formidable to Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose him naked and unguarded [to his enemies]. However, Sextus Cæsar, governor of Syria, wrote to Hyrcanus, and desired him to discharge Herod from trial, and threatened him also if he did not do so. And this letter of his was the cause of Hyrcanus' delivering Herod from suffering any harm from the sanhedrim, for he loved him as his own son. But when Herod stood before the sanhedrim with his band of men about him, he frightened them all, and none of his former accusers durst after that bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done. When things were in this posture, one whose name was Sameas, a righteous man and for that reason above all fear, rose up, and said, "O king and members of the sanhedrim, neither have I ever myself

<sup>1</sup> It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judæa, but by the approbation of the Jewish sanhedrim, there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem. And this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says, "It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem." Luke xiii. 33.—W.

known such a case, nor do I suppose that any one of you can name its parallel, that one who is called to take his trial by us ever stood in such a manner before us; but every one, whoever he be, that comes to be tried by this sanhedrim, presents himself in a submissive manner, and like one that is in fear, and endeavours to move us to compassion, with his hair dishevelled, and in a black mourning garment: but this most excellent Herod, who is accused of murder, and called to answer so heavy an accusation, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair of his head finely trimmed, and with armed men about him, that if we shall condemn him by our law, he may slay us, and by being too strong for justice may himself escape death. Yet I do not blame Herod for this, if he is more concerned for himself than for the laws; but I blame you and the king, who give him license to do so. However, know that God is great, and that this very man, whom you wish to let go for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish both you and the king himself also." Nor was Sameas wrong in any part of this prediction; for when Herod had got the kingdom, he slew Hyrcanus and all the members of this sanhedrim except Sameas, for he honoured him highly on account of his uprightness, and because, when the city was afterwards besieged by Herod and Sosius, he advised the people to admit Herod into it; and told them that for their sins they would not be able to escape him. About all this I shall speak in its proper place.

§ 5. Now when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim were ready to pronounce sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the trial to another day, and sent privately to Herod, and advised him to flee from the city, for by that means he might escape from danger. So he retired to Damascus, as though he fled from the king: and when he had gone to Sextus Cæsar, and had put his own affairs in a sure posture, he resolved, if he were again summoned before the sanhedrim to take his trial, not to obey the summons. Thereupon the members of the sanhedrim felt great indignation, and endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were against him. He was not ignorant that this was the case, but he was so unmanly and foolish, that he was able to do nothing at

all. And when Sextus made Herod general of the army of Cœle-Syria, for he sold him that post for money, Hyrcanus was afraid that Herod would make war upon him ; nor was the effect of what he feared long in coming upon him, for Herod came with an army to fight against Hyrcanus, being angry at the trial he had been summoned to undergo before the sanhedrim ; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phasaelus], met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also tried to pacify his vehement temper, and begged him to do no overt action, but only to frighten by threatening, and to proceed no further against one who had given him the dignity he had ; they also desired him, if he was vexed that he was summoned and obliged to come to his trial, to remember also how he was dismissed without condemnation, and to be grateful for that, and not to regard only what was disagreeable to him, and so be unthankful for his deliverance. They desired him also to consider, since it is God that turns the scales of war, that there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when fighting against his king and comrade, who had bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing severe to him, for his accusation, which was owing to evil counsellors and not to Hyrcanus, had rather the suggestion and semblance of severity, than anything really severe in it. Herod listened to these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and to have done nothing more. Such was the state of affairs in Judæa at this time.

## CHAP. X.

*The Honours that were paid the Jews ; and the Alliances that were made by the Romans, and other Nations, with them.*

### § 1.

NOW when Cæsar had returned to Rome, he was on the eve of sailing for Africa to fight against Scipio and Cato, when Hyrcanus sent to him, and besought him to

ratify the league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the alliances they made with it, that all mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been abundantly satisfied with our courage and fidelity. Now since many owing to hostility to us do not believe what has been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not everywhere to be met with, and are not stored up in public places, but are only among ourselves and certain other barbarous nations, while no one can gainsay the decrees of the Romans (for they are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the Capitol, and engraved upon pillars of brass; moreover, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews of Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria), from these evidences I shall prove what I say. I shall also set down the decrees made both by the senate and Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to our nation.

§ 2. "Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator, pontifex maximus, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of the decree, registered on the tablet, which concerns Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander) the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be engraved on a tablet of brass both in Greek and Latin. It is as follows. I Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and pontifex maximus, have made this decree with the approbation of the senate. Whereas Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander) the Jew, has demonstrated his fidelity and diligence in our affairs both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne him witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers, and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all in the army, for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews,

and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our allies, and besides this that every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatever privileges belong by their laws to the office of high priest, or whatever favours have been hitherto conceded to them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I do not approve of their being obliged to find us winter quarters, or of any money being required of them."

§ 3. "The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing what has been granted and determined, are as follows. That Hyrcanus and his sons bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places granted to them, and that Hyrcanus himself, as high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander) the high priest of the Jews, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and alliance, and that a tablet of brass, containing all this, be openly set up in the Capitol, and at Sidon and Tyre and Ascalon, and in the temples, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: and that this decree be communicated to the quæstors and prætors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors have presents made them, and that these decrees be sent everywhere."

§ 4. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, and consul, has granted, out of regard to the honour and virtue and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate and people of Rome, that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his sons, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

§ 5. "Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, has decreed, that the Jews may keep Jerusalem, and fortify that city; and that Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander), the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, occupy it as he himself pleases; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let a cor of the tribute,

and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, and that they pay not always the same tribute."

§ 6. "Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, has ordained, that all the country of the Jews, except Joppa, pay tribute for the city of Jerusalem every year except the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, because therein they neither receive the fruit of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay as their tribute in Sidon in the second year, the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, as they paid to their forefathers. And no one, either governor, or general, or ambassador, may raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judæa, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or on any other pretext, but they are to be free from all sorts of injuries: and whatever they shall hereafter have, or get possession of, or buy, they shall retain. It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, shall have as tribute for that city from those that occupy the land, for the country and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, except the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, wherein they neither plough nor take the fruit off their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, as to the villages which are in the great plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers formerly possessed, that Hyrcanus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them, and that the same original ordinances remain still in force which concern the Jews with regard to their high priests and priests, and that they enjoy the same benefits which they formerly had by the concession of the people and senate. And let them enjoy the like privileges at Lydda. It is the pleasure also of the senate, that Hyrcanus the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, lands, and farm-steeds, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, the allies of the Romans, and which they had bestowed on them as their free gift. It is also granted to

Hyrcanus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors sent by them to us, that in the fights between gladiators, and in those with wild beasts, they shall sit among the senators to see those shows, and when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced to the senate by the dictator or master of the horse, and when they have introduced them, answers shall be returned them in ten days at the latest, after the decree of the senate is made."

§ 7. "Caius Cæsar, imperator [dictator] the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made the following speech concerning the rights and privileges of Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander), the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. 'Since those imperators<sup>1</sup> who have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the Jews themselves, and that before the senate and people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we now also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hyrcanus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hyrcanus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to the good-will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us.'"

§ 8. "Julius Caius, prætor, consul of Rome, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Parians, greeting. The Jews of Delos,<sup>2</sup> and some other Jews that sojourn there, signified to us, in the presence of your ambassadors, that you forbid them by a decree of yours to follow the customs of their forefathers and their sacred rites. Now it does not please me that such decrees should be made against our friends and allies, whereby they are forbidden to live according to their own customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and sacrifices, since they are not forbidden to do so even at Rome itself. For

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hudson justly supposes, that the Roman imperators, or generals of armies, both here and § 2, who gave testimony to Hyrcanus' and the Jews faithfulness and good-will to the Romans before the senate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey, Scaurus, and Gabinius; of all whom Josephus has already given us the history, as far as the Jews were concerned with them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known island, birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, on which was the celebrated Temple of Apollo, raised by the common contribution of the Greek States.

even Caius Cæsar, our imperator and consul, in the decree wherein he forbade other companies to meet in the city, did yet permit the Jews, and them only, both to bring in their contributions, and to make their common suppers. Accordingly, though I forbid other companies, I permit these Jews to gather themselves together, according to the customs and laws of their forefathers, and to continue therein. It will therefore be good for you, if you have made any decree against these our friends and allies, to abrogate the same, because of their virtue and good-will towards us."

§ 9. Now after Caius Cæsar was slain, when Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were consuls, they assembled the senate, and introduced Hyrcanus' ambassadors into it, and discussed what they desired, and made a league of friendship with them. The senate also decreed to grant them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may have at hand a proof of the truth of what I say. The decree was as follows.

§ 10. The decree of the senate copied out of the treasury from the public tablets belonging to the quæstors, when Quintus Rutilius and Caius Cornelius were city quæstors, and taken from the second tablet of the first class. "On the third day before the Ides of April, there were present in the temple of Concord, at the writing of this decree, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Papinius Potitus of the Lemonian tribe, Caius Caninius Rebilius of the Terentine tribe, Publius Tidetius, Lucius Apulinus (the son of Lucius) of the Sergian tribe, Flavius (the son of Lucius) of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Platius (the son of Publius) of the Papirian tribe, Marcus Acilius (the son of Marcus) of the Mecian tribe, Lucius Erucius (the son of Lucius) of the Stellatine tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancillus (the son of Marcus) of the Pollian tribe, and Publius Serius. Publius Dolabella, and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, drew it up. As to those things which, by the decree of the senate, Caius Cæsar had determined about the Jews, and yet had not hitherto had that decree brought into the treasury, it is our will, as it is also the desire of Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, our consuls, to have those decrees put on the public tablets, and brought to the city

quæstors, that they may take care to have them put upon the double tablets. This was done in the temple of Concord the fifth day before the Ides of February. Now the ambassadors from Hyrcanus the high priest were these, Lysimachus the son of Pausanias, Alexander the son of Theodorus, Patroclus the son of Chæreas, and Jonathan the son of Onias."

§ 11. Hyrcanus also sent one of these ambassadors to Dolabella, who was then the governor of Asia, beseeching him to dismiss the Jews from military service, and to preserve to them the customs of their forefathers, and to permit them to live according to them. And when Dolabella had received Hyrcanus' letter, he sent without any further deliberation a letter to all in Asia, and to the city of the Ephesians (the metropolis of Asia), about the Jews, a copy of which here follows.

§ 12. "In the Presidency of Artemon, on the first day of the month Lenaeon, Dolabella, imperator, to the senate and magistrates and people of the Ephesians sends greeting. Alexander the son of Theodorus, the ambassador of Hyrcanus (the son of Alexander), the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has shown to me that his countrymen cannot go into the army, because they are not allowed to bear arms or to travel on the Sabbath-days, nor to procure themselves then those sorts of food which they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers. I do therefore grant them exemption from going into the army, as the governors before me have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices: and my will is, that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

§ 13. Such were the concessions that Dolabella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an embassage to him. And Lucius Lentulus, the consul, said: "I have at my tribunal exempted those Jews, who are citizens of Rome, and follow the Jewish religious rites and perform them at Ephesus, from going into the army, on account of their religious scruples, on the twelfth day before the Calends of October, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus.

There were present Titus Appius Balgus (the son of Titus), lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius (the son of Titus), of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Ræsius, the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, the son of Titus, Caius Servilius (the son of Caius), of the Terentine tribe, Bracchus the military tribune, Publius Clusius Gallus (the son of Publius), of the Veturian tribe, and Caius Sentius (the son of Caius), of the Sabatine tribe. Titus Appius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and pro-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, greeting. Lucius Lentulus the consul exempted the Jews that are in Asia from going into the army in consequence of my intercession for them. And when I made the same petition some time afterwards to Phanius the pro-prætor and to Lucius Antonius the pro-quæstor, I obtained that privilege of them also ; and my will is, that you take care that no one give them any trouble."

§ 14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the prætors, when Bœotus was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargelion. When Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed head of the recruiting of soldiers, he called us and many others of the citizens, and gave order, if there were here any Jews who were Roman citizens, that no one was to trouble them about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army on account of their religious scruples. You are therefore obliged to submit to the prætor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians also about us.

§ 15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, imperator and consul, to the magistrates of Cos greeting. I would have you know that the ambassadors of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them ; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is that you take care of and see to these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

§ 16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul : "I have dismissed those Jews who are Roman citizens, and who appeared to me to have their religious rites, and to practise them at Ephesus, on account of their religious

scruples. This was done the thirteenth day before the Calends of October."

§ 17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, pro-quæstor, and pro-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, greeting. Those Jews that were our citizens came to me, and showed that they had an assembly of their own according to the laws of their forefathers, and that from the beginning, as also a place of their own, wherein they determined their suits and controversies with one another: upon their petition therefore to me, that these might be lawful for them, I gave order for their privileges to be preserved and permitted."

§ 18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus the son of Marcus, and of Lucius the son of Publius. "We went to the pro-consul Lentulus, and informed him of what Dositheus, the son of Cleopatrides, of Alexandria desired, that, if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of their religious scruples. Accordingly, he did dismiss them, on the thirteenth day before the Calends of October."

§ 19. "In the month Quintilis, when Lucius Lentulus and Caius Marcellus were consuls, there were present Titus Appius Balbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumine tribe, Quintus Ræsius the son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius the son of Titus, Cornelius Longinus, Caius Servilius Bracchus (the son of Caius) military tribune, of the Terentine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus (the son of Publius) of the Veturian tribe, Caius Teutius (the son of Caius) military tribune, of the Æmilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus (the son of Sextus) of the Æsquiline tribe, Caius Pompeius (the son of Caius) of the Sabatine tribe, Titus Appius Menander the son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo the son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito (the son of Lucius) of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius Tertius the son of Aulus, and Appius Menas. In the presence of these Lentulus pronounced the following decree: I have before my tribunal dismissed those Jews that are Roman citizens, and are accustomed to observe the sacred rites of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of their religious scruples."

§ 20. "The magistrates of the Laodiceans send greeting to Caius Rabilius (the son of Caius) the consul. Sopater the ambassador of Hyrcanus the high priest, has delivered us a letter from thee, whereby he lets us know that certain persons came from Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews, and brought a letter written concerning their nation, wherein they desired that the Jews might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and other sacred rites, according to the laws of their forefathers, and that no one might lord it over them, because they were our friends and allies, or injure them in our province. Now although the Trallians there present replied that they were not pleased with these decrees, yet didst thou give order that they should be observed, and informedst us that thou wast desired to write this to us about them. We therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the letter which thou sentest us, and have laid it up apart among our public records. As to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

§ 21. "Publius Servilius Galba (the son of Publius), proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sendeth greeting. Prytanis (the son of Hermes) a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Tralles<sup>1</sup> and held a court there, and informed me that you used the Jews in a way different to our orders, and forbade them to celebrate their Sabbaths, and to perform the sacred rites received from their forefathers, and to manage the fruits of the land according to their ancient custom, and that he himself had promulgated the decree according to the laws. I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to use their own customs."

§ 22. The decree of the people of Pergamus.<sup>2</sup> "When Cratippus was Prytanis, on the first day of the month Dæsius, the decree of the prætors was as follows. Since the Romans, following the conduct of their ancestors, undertake dangers for the common safety of all mankind, and

<sup>1</sup> Near Aidin, in the valley of the Maeander, on the west coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Bergama.

are ambitious to settle their allies and friends in happiness and firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priest Hyrcanus, sent as ambassadors to them Strato the son of Theodotus, and Apollonius the son of Alexander, and Æneas the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus the son of Amyntas, and Sosipater the son of Philip, all worthy and good men, who gave a particular account of their affairs, the senate thereupon passed a decree as to what they asked of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans; and that the fortresses and havens and territory, and whatever else he had taken from them, should be restored; and that it should be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens: and that no king or people should have leave to export any goods, either from the country of Judæa or from their havens, without paying customs, except Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our ally and friend; and that according to their desire, the garrison that was in Joppa should be expelled. Now Lucius Pettius, one of our senators, a worthy and good man, gave order that we should take care that these things should be done according to the senate's decree; and that we should take care also that the Jewish ambassadors might return home in safety. And we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the letter from him as well as the decree of the senate; and as he discoursed with great earnestness, and described Hyrcanus' virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and to everybody that came to him in particular, we laid up the letter in our public records, and made a decree ourselves, since we also were allies of the Romans, that we would do everything we could for the Jews according to the senate's decree. Theodorus also, who brought the letter, asked of our prætors, that they would send Hyrcanus a copy of that decree, as also ambassadors to signify to him the affection of our people to him, and to exhort him to preserve and augment his friendship with us, and to be ready to bestow other benefits upon us, as we reasonably expected to receive a fit return, remembering that our ancestors were friendly to the Jews even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the

Hebrews, as we have found it set down in our public records."

23. The decree of the Halicarnassians.<sup>1</sup> "Before Memnon the priest, the son of Orestides by descent, but of Euonymus by adoption, on the \* \* \* day of the month Anthes-terion, the decree of the people, upon the motion of Marcus Alexander, was as follows. Since we have ever a great regard to piety towards God and to holiness, following the people of the Romans, who are the benefactors of all men, and what they have written to us about a league of friend-ship and alliance between the Jews and our city, that their sacred rites and accustomed feasts and assemblies may be observed by them; we have decreed, that as many men and women of the Jews as wish to do so may celebrate their Sabbaths, and perform their holy rites, according to the Jewish laws, and have their places of prayer by the sea-side, according to the customs of their forefathers; and if any one, whether a magistrate or private person, hinders them from so doing, he shall be liable to a fine, to be paid to the city."

§ 24. The decree of the Sardians.<sup>2</sup> "This decree was made by the senate and people, upon the representation of the prætors. Whereas those Jews, who are our fellow-citizens, and live in our city, have ever had great benefits heaped upon them by the people, and have come now to the senate, and requested of the people that, upon the re-stitution of their laws and liberty by the senate and people of Rome, they may assemble together according to their ancient customs, and that we will not bring any suit against them about it; and that a place may be given them where they may hold their congregations with their wives and children, and may offer, as their forefathers did, their prayers and sacrifices to God; the senate and people have decreed to permit them to assemble together on the days formerly appointed, and to act according to their own laws; and that such a place be set apart for them by the prætors for a building and habitation, as they shall esteem

<sup>1</sup> The people of Halicarnassus, now *Bûdrûm*, on the S.W. coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> The people of Sardis, now *Sart*, in the valley of the Hermus, on the west coast of Asia Minor.

fit for that purpose. And let those that see to provisions for the city, take care that such sorts of food as they shall esteem fit for their eating, may be introduced into the city."

§ 25. The decree of the Ephesians. "When Menophilus was Prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemisius, this decree was made by the people. Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the motion of the prætors. As the Jews that dwell in this city petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius (the son of Brutus) the pro-consul, that they might be allowed to observe their Sabbaths, and to act in all things according to the customs of their fore-fathers, without impediment from anybody, the prætor granted their petition. So it was decreed by the senate and people, as the affair concerned the Romans, that none of them should be hindered from keeping the Sabbath-day, nor be fined for so doing, but that they should be allowed to do all things according to their own laws."

§ 26. Now there are many other such decrees of the senate and imperators of the Romans, made in favour of Hyrcanus and our nation, and decrees for cities, and re-scripts of the prætors to such letters as concerned our rights and privileges: and certainly such as are not ill disposed to what I write, may believe that they are all to this purpose, from the specimens which I have inserted. For as I have produced evident marks that may still be seen of the friendship we have had with the Romans, and shown that those marks are engraven upon pillars and tablets of brass in the Capitol, that are still in existence and will be so, I have omitted to set them all down as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any one so perverse as not to believe that we have had friendship with the Romans, since they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us, or to doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since I have shown a sample. I have now sufficiently set forth the friendship and alliance we had in those times with the Romans.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Murcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus' treachery; and how, after the death of Cæsar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judæa; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.*

## § 1.

NOW it so fell out about this very time that the affairs of Syria were in great disorder on the following account. Cæcilius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, conspired against Sextus Cæsar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his own hand; so that there arose a great war about Apamea,<sup>1</sup> for Cæsar's generals came against him with an army of horse and foot. Antipater also sent succours with his sons to them, calling to mind the kindnesses he had received from Cæsar, and so he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war lasted a great time, Murcus came from Rome to take Sextus' command, and Cæsar was slain by Cassius and Brutus and the other conspirators in the senate-house, after he had ruled three years and six months. This is however related elsewhere.

§ 2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cæsar was now begun, and the principal men all went, some one way, some another, to raise armies, Cassius went from Rome into Syria, to take the command of the army at Apamea, and having raised the siege, he won over both Bassus and Murcus to his party. He then visited the various cities, and got together weapons and soldiers, and laid great taxes upon the cities, and especially oppressed Judæa, exacting from it seven hundred talents. But Antipater, when he saw that affairs were in such great confusion and disorder, divided the collection of that sum, and appointed his two sons to gather some of it, and part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill disposed to him, and part by

<sup>1</sup> *Kal'at el-Medyk.*

others. And because Herod did exact what was required of him from Galilee before all others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it prudent to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the rulers of the other cities, with all the citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities to slavery, the two most important of which were Gophna<sup>1</sup> and Emmaus,<sup>2</sup> and besides them Lydda<sup>3</sup> and Thamna.<sup>4</sup> Nay, Cassius was so very angry at Malichus, that he would have killed him (for he was mad at him), had not Hyrcanus sent him by Antipater a hundred talents of his own, and so pacified his anger against him.

§ 6. But after Cassius had gone from Judæa, Malichus conspired against Antipater, thinking his death would be for the security of Hyrcanus' power; but his design was not unknown to Antipater, who, when he perceived it, retired beyond the Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own countrymen. However, Malichus, being a crafty fellow, denied that he had laid any snares for him, and made his defence with an oath both to him and his sons, and said, that as Phasaelus had the garrison in Jerusalem, and Herod had the weapons of war in his custody, he could never have thought of any such thing. So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Malichus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an agreement with him when Murcus was prætor of Syria, who perceiving that this Malichus was raising disturbances in Judæa, very nearly had him killed, but at the intercession of Antipater he saved his life.

§ 4. However, Antipater little thought that in Malichus he had saved his own murderer. For when Cassius and Murcus had got together an army, they intrusted the entire care of it to Herod, and made him general of the forces of Cœle-Syria, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an army of horse and foot; and promised him, after the war was over, to make him king of Judæa, for war was already begun between them and Antony and the young Cæsar.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jifna*, N.W. of *Beitn*, Bethel.

<sup>2</sup> *'Amwás*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ludd*.

<sup>4</sup> Now *Tibneh*; see Antiq. v. 1, § 29; xiv. 11, § 12.

<sup>5</sup> Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus.

And as Malichus was now especially afraid of Antipater, he tried to get him out of the way ; and, by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus with whom they were about to feast, to kill him by poison. This being done, having armed men with him, he settled the affairs of the city. But when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaelus, got to know of this conspiracy against their father, and were indignant at it, Malichus denied all, and professed to have no knowledge of the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man that had distinguished himself for piety and justice and love for his country. And whereas one of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to revenge his father's death, and marched against Malichus with an army, the elder of his sons, Phasaelus, thought it best rather to get round him by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country. So he accepted Malichus' defence, and pretended to believe that he had had no hand in the death of Antipater his father, and erected a fine monument to him. Herod also went to Samaria,<sup>1</sup> and as he found it in great distress, he repaired the city, and composed the differences of its inhabitants.

§ 5. Not long after this, Herod, upon the approach of a festival at Jerusalem, went with his soldiers to that city ; whereupon Malichus was afraid, and urged Hyrcanus not to permit him to enter the city. Hyrcanus listened to him, and alleged, as a pretext for excluding Herod, that a crowd of strangers ought not to be admitted when the multitude were purifying themselves. But Herod paid little regard to the messengers who were sent to him, and entered the city by night, and frightened Malichus, who however remitted nothing of his dissimulation, but wept for Antipater, and bewailed him with a loud voice as a friend of his. And Herod and his friends thought it well not to expose Malichus' hypocrisy, but to receive him kindly also, to prevent his feeling any suspicion.

§ 6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and informed him of the murder of his father. And he, knowing the character of Malichus, sent him back word to revenge his father's death ; and also sent privately to the commanders of the

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.*

army at Tyre, ordering them to assist Herod in the execution of his very just design. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea,<sup>1</sup> and they all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money, Herod expected that Malichus would be punished while he was there ; but Malichus was somewhat apprehensive of some such thing when in the neighbourhood of Tyre in Phœnicia, and designed to make some great move, and as his son was then an hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and resolved to steal him away privately, and to march thence into Judæa ; and as Cassius was in haste to march against Antony, he thought to bring the country to revolt, and to procure the government for himself. But Providence opposed his counsels, for Herod being a shrewd man, and perceiving what his intention was, sent thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed to get a supper ready, (for he had said before that he would feast them all there,) but in reality to take a message to the commanders of the army, whom he urged to go out against Malichus with their daggers. So they went out, and met the man near the city, upon the sea-shore, and there stabbed him. Thereupon Hyrcanus was so astonished at what had happened, that his speech failed him ; and when, after some difficulty, he came to himself, he asked Herod's men what the matter could be, and who it was that had slain Malichus ? And when they said that it was done by command of Cassius, he commended the action ; for he said Malichus was a very wicked man, and one that conspired against his country. And this was the punishment that was inflicted on Malichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

§ 7. But when Cassius had marched out of Syria, disturbances arose in Judæa : for Helix, who was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sudden attack on Phasaelus, and the people themselves took up arms. And Herod went to Fabius, the prefect of Damascus, and desired to run to his brother's assistance, but was hindered by an illness that seized upon him, till Phasaelus by himself was too hard for Helix, and shut him up in the tower, and then dismissed him on conditions. Phasaelus also complained of

<sup>1</sup> *Latakieh*, on the coast of Syria.

**H**yrcanus, on the ground that, although he had received a great many benefits from them, he yet acted with his enemies. For Malichus' brother at this time made many places to revolt, and kept garrisons in them, and especially at Masada,<sup>1</sup> the strongest fortress of all. Not long after this Herod recovered from his illness, and came and took from Malichus' brother all the places he had got, and, on certain conditions, let him go.

## CHAP. XII.

*Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, from Judæa, and gains the Friendship of Antony, who was now come into Syria, by sending him much Money; on which Account he would not hear those that would have accused Herod: and what it was that Antony wrote to the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews.*

### § 1.

**N**OW Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, because he was akin to him, brought back into Judæa Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, and had by money made Fabius his friend. Marion also gave him assistance. Marion had been left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for Cassius having seized on Syria, then kept it under by tyrants. Marion also marched into Galilee, which lay in his neighbourhood, and took three of the fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when Herod came against him he took them all from him, but he dismissed the Tyrian garrison in a very civil manner; nay he made presents to some from the good-will he bore to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and had gone to meet Antigonus, he joined battle with him, and beat him, and drove him out of Judæa, when he was just come into its borders. And when he was come to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands on his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*, on the west coast of the Dead Sea.

his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as he was about to marry the daughter of Alexander (the son of Aristobulus) and grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, by whom he eventually became the father of three sons and two daughters. He had also married before this another wife, of a lower family of his own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

§ 2. Now Antony and Cæsar<sup>1</sup> had beaten Cassius near Philippi,<sup>2</sup> as others have related; and after that victory, Cæsar<sup>1</sup> went into Italy, and Antony set out for Asia, and, when he arrived at Bithynia,<sup>3</sup> ambassadors met him from all parts. The principal men also of the Jews came there to accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and said that Hyrcanus had indeed the semblance of reigning, but these men had all the power. But Antony paid great respect to Herod, who came to him to make his defence against his accusers, so that his adversaries could not so much as obtain a hearing; which favour Herod obtained of Antony by money. But when Antony was come to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and our nation, sent an embassage to him, who carried a crown of gold with them, and begged that he would write to the governors of the provinces, to set those Jews free who had been carried captive by Cassius, though they had not fought against him, and to restore them the country which had been taken from them in the days of Cassius. Antony thought the Jews' requests were just, and wrote immediately to Hyrcanus and to the Jews. He also sent, at the same time, a decree to the Tyrians, the contents of which were as follows.

§ 3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews greeting. If you be in health, it is well; I also am in health and the army. Lysimachus the son of Pausanias, and Josephus the son of Mennæus, and Alexander the son of Theodorus, your ambassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have renewed that embassage which they had formerly been upon at Rome, and have diligently acquitted themselves in the present embas-

<sup>1</sup> That is Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Filibeh*, in Macedonia, not far from *Kavala*, Neapolis.

<sup>3</sup> The N.W. portion of Asia Minor.

sage on behalf of you and your nation, and have fully declared the good-will you have for us. I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and words, that you are well disposed to us, and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious, so I reckon upon you as our own. But since those that were adversaries to you, and to the Roman people, abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreements they had confirmed by oath, it was not only on account of our private contest with them, but also on account of all mankind in common, that we took vengeance on those who have been the authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods ; for the sake of which we suppose it was that the sun turned away its light,<sup>1</sup> being unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cæsar. We have also overcome their conspiracies, which threatened the gods themselves, which Macedonia received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for impious and insolent attempts, and we overcame that confused rout of men half mad with spite against us, which they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, when they occupied places fit for their purpose, and, as it were, walled round with mountains to the very sea, and where approach was open only through a single gate. This victory we gained because the gods had condemned those men for their wicked undertakings. Now Brutus, when he had fled to Philippi, was shut up by us, and partook of the same destruction as Cassius ; and now that those men have received their punishment, we hope that we may enjoy peace for the time to come, and that Asia may be at rest from war. We, therefore, make that peace which God has given us common to our allies also, so that the body of Asia is now recovered from its disease as it were owing to our victory. I, therefore, bearing you in mind and hoping to aggrandize your nation, shall take care of what may be for your advantage. I have also sent letters to the several cities,

<sup>1</sup> This clause plainly alludes to that well known but unusual and very long darkness of the sun, which happened upon the murder of Julius Cæsar by Brutus and Cassius, which is taken notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgics, b. i. just before the end ; and Pliny's Nat. Hist. b. ii. c. 30.—W.

that if any persons, whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate officers, they are to be set free. And I will that you make use of the favours which I and Dolabella have kindly granted you. I also forbid the Tyrians to use any violence to you, and as to those places of the Jews they now possess, I order them to restore them. I have also accepted of the crown which you sent me."

§ 4. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting. The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch [of the Jews] have appeared before me at Ephesus, and have told me that you are in possession of part of their country, which you entered upon during the sway of our adversaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken a war for obtaining the government, and have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and justice, and have brought to punishment those that had neither any remembrance of the kindness they had received, nor kept their oaths, I will that you be at peace with those that are our allies, as also that what you have taken by means of our adversaries shall not be reckoned your own, but be returned to those from whom you took them. For none of our rivals took their provinces or their armies by the gift of the senate, but seized them by force, and gratified by violence such as served them in their unjust proceedings. Since, therefore, those men have received the punishment due to them, we desire that our allies may retain whatever they formerly possessed without disturbance, and that you restore all the places which you now have, which belonged to Hyrcanus the ethnarch of the Jews, even though only one day before Caius Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us, and entered our provinces. Neither use any force against the Jews in order to weaken them, that they may not be able to dispose of that which is their own. But if you have any plea to urge in defence against Hyrcanus, it shall be lawful for you to plead your case when we come to the places concerned, for we shall alike preserve the rights, and hear all the causes, of our allies."

§ 5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, greeting. I have sent you my

decree, and I will that you take care that it be engraven on the public tablets, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most public place, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirs over public affairs, has spoken. Since Caius Cassius, in the revolt he made, pillaged a province which did not belong to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, and plundered our allies, and warred against the nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Roman people, and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he has laid waste, that all that may be restored to our allies. And as for what has been sold of the Jews, whether bodies or possessions, let them be released, the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience ; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender shall suffer condign punishment."

§ 6. The same thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Aradians.<sup>1</sup> I have produced these decrees at a suitable place, as proofs of the truth of what I said, namely that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Antony made Herod and Phasaelus Tetrarchs after they had been accused to no purpose ; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus captives. Herod's Flight ; and the Afflictions that Hyrcanus and Phasaelus endured.*

#### § 1.

AFTER this when Antony came into Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and greatly captivated him. And now again there came a hundred of the most influential

<sup>1</sup> The people of Aradus, Arvad, now the island er-Ruad.

of the Jews to accuse Herod and his party, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But Messala pleaded against them, on behalf of the young men, and in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law already.<sup>1</sup> When Antony had heard both sides at Daphne,<sup>2</sup> he asked Hyrcanus who governed the nation best? and he replied, Herod and his party. Thereupon Antony, because of the old friendship he had with Herod's father when he was with Gabinius, made both Herod and Phasaelus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also put fifteen of their adversaries in bonds, and was going to kill them, but Herod obtained their pardon.

§ 2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they returned from their embassage, but a thousand of the Jews went to Tyre to meet Antony there, as the report was that he would go there. But Antony was corrupted by the quantity of money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave orders to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish ambassadors who were for making innovations, and to settle the government upon Herod. And Herod went out quickly to them, and Hyrcanus with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city), and charged them to go their ways, because great mischief would befall them if they went on with their pertinacity. But they would not listen, so the Romans ran upon them at once with their daggers, and slew some, and wounded others, and the rest fled away and went home, and remained quiet in great consternation. And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew those fifteen that had been put in bonds.

§ 3. Now, in the second year, Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzapharnes, a satrap of the Parthians, occupied Syria. Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, was now

<sup>1</sup> We may here take notice, that espousals alone were of old esteemed a sufficient foundation for affinity, Hyrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, because his grand-daughter Mariamne was betrothed to him, although the marriage was not completed till four years afterwards. See Mat. i. 16.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Beit el-Mâ*, near Antioch.

also dead, and Lysanias his son succeeded him, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and for that end made use of the satrap Barzapharnes, who had great influence with him. Now Antigonus had promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women, if they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and also kill Herod. And although he did not give what he promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judæa on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Pacorus went along the maritime parts, and the satrap Barzapharnes through the interior of the country. Now the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians and those of Ptolemais<sup>1</sup> received him. However, Pacorus sent a troop of horse into Judæa, to make a reconnaissance of the country, and to assist Antigonus, and sent the king's butler as its commander, who had the same name as himself. And when the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judæa, Antigonus hoped to get some part of the country by their assistance; the place was called Drymi.<sup>2</sup> And when some others came and met them, the men marched on Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, they got together in great numbers, and marched against the king's palace and besieged it. But as Phasaelus' and Herod's party came to the others' assistance, and a battle took place between them in the market-place, the young men beat their enemies, and pursued them into the temple, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who however being destitute of support were burnt, houses and all, by the people who rose up against them. But Herod was revenged on these seditious adversaries of his soon afterwards for this injury they had done him, for he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

§ 4. But though there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the people out of the country to Pentecost (a feast of ours so called), and when that

<sup>1</sup> 'Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Jewish War, i. 13, § 2. Probably an oak-grove at the foot of Carmel.

day was come, many myriads of the people were gathered together near the temple, some in armour, and some unarmed. Now those that came guarded both the temple and the city, except near the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers ; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought valiantly, and put many myriads to flight, some fleeing into the city, and some into the temple, and some to the outer vallum that was there. Phasaelus also came to his assistance. And Pacorus, the general of the Parthians, at the desire of Antigonus, was admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretext indeed of stilling the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaelus met him, and received him kindly, Pacorus persuaded him to go himself as ambassador to Barzapharnes, which was done treacherously. And Phasaelus, suspecting no harm, complied with his proposal, while Herod did not approve of what was done, because of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, but bade Phasaelus rather to fight against those that were come into the city.

§ 5. So both Hyrcanus and Phasaelus went on the embassage ; but Pacorus left with Herod two hundred horse, and ten men who were called Freemen, and conducted the others on their journey. And when they got to Galilee, the governors of the cities there met them in arms. And Barzapharnes received them at first with cheerfulness, and made them presents, though he afterwards conspired against them ; and Phasaelus, with his horsemen, were conducted to the seaside. But when they heard that Antigonus had promised to bribe the Parthians by a thousand talents and five hundred women to assist him against them, they soon had a suspicion of the barbarians. Moreover, there was one who informed them that snares were laid for them by night, as a guard secretly surrounded them. And they would then have been seized upon, had not they waited for the seizure of Herod by the Parthians that were at Jerusalem, lest, upon the slaughter of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he should have an intimation of it, and so escape out of their hands. And these were the cir-

cumstances they were now in, and they saw who they were that guarded them. Some persons indeed advised Phasaelus to ride off immediately, and not to stay any longer; and there was one Ophellius, who, above all the rest, was urgent with him to do so, for he had heard of this treachery from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time, who also promised to provide him ships for flight; for the sea was near. But he had no mind to desert Hyrcanus, nor bring his brother into danger; but he went to Barzapharnes, and told him he did not act justly in plotting thus against them, for if he wanted money, he would give him more than Antigonus; and besides, it was monstrous to slay ambassadors that came to him upon the security of their oaths, and that when they had done no injury. And the barbarian swore to him that there was no truth in any of his suspicions, but that he was troubled with nothing but false fancies, and then went back to Pacorus.

§ 6. But as soon as he was gone away, some of the Parthians came and bound Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, and Phasaelus greatly reproached the Parthians for their perjury. Now the butler who was sent against Herod had been told to get him without the walls of the city and seize upon him. But messengers had been sent by Phasaelus to inform Herod of the perfidiousness of the Parthians: and when Herod knew that the enemy had seized Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, he went to Pacorus, and to the most influential of the Parthians, as the lords of the rest. And they, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way; and said that he ought to go out with them before the walls, and meet those who were bringing him letters, for they had not yet been taken by his adversaries, but were coming to give him an account of the good success Phasaelus had had. But Herod did not credit what they said; for he had heard from others that his brother had been seized. And the daughter of Hyrcanus, whose daughter he had espoused, advised him also [not to credit them,] which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, he believed her to be a woman of very great wisdom.

§ 7. Now while the Parthians were in consultation what was fit to be done (for they did not think it proper to make

an open attempt upon a person of his character), and put off the matter to the next day, Herod was in great anxiety; and rather inclining to believe the reports he heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined that, when evening came on, he would make use of it for his flight, and not make any longer delay, as if danger from the enemy was still uncertain. He therefore set out with the armed men whom he had with him, and set the women upon beasts of burden, as his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to marry [Mariamne], the daughter of Alexander (the son of Aristobulus), and her mother the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemies' knowledge pursued his way to Idumæa<sup>1</sup>: nor could any enemy of his, who had seen him then in this case, have been so hard-hearted, as not to have commiserated his fortune, as the women dragged along their infant children, and with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, left their own country, and their friends in prison, and expected nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

§ 8. But Herod raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes, and, as he passed along, bade every one be of good cheer, and not give way to sorrow, because that would hinder them in their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. So they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were in, as Herod exhorted them to do; but he once almost killed himself, upon the overthrow of a waggon, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, not only because of his great concern for her, but also because he was afraid lest, by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in the pursuit. But as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself with it, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number were too much for him, and told him that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself

<sup>1</sup> The country south of Hebron and west of the Dead Sea is referred to here.

from the distresses he was in, and to leave his friends to struggle in the same. So he was compelled to let that horrid attempt alone, partly from shame at what they said to him, and partly from regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. And he revived his mother, and took all the care of her the conjuncture would allow, and proceeded on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Masada.<sup>1</sup> And though he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him and pursued him, he was conqueror in them all.

§ 9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews during his flight; for by the time he had got sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, and he also put them to flight and overcame them, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And in the very place where he overcame the Jews, some time afterwards, when he became king, he built a most fine palace, and a city round it, and called it Herodium.<sup>2</sup> And when he was come to Idumæa, to a place called Thresa,<sup>3</sup> his brother Joseph met him, and he then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done under the circumstances, as he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the fortress of Masada, where he proposed to flee to, was too small to contain so great a multitude. So he sent away the greater part of his company, who were more than nine thousand, and bade them go some one way and some another, and save themselves in Idumæa, and gave them what would buy them provisions on their journey; but he took with himself those that were the least encumbered, and were most friendly to him, and reached the fortress, and placed there his wives, and his followers (who were eight hundred in number), there being in the place a sufficient quantity of corn and water and other necessaries, and himself set out directly for Petra in Arabia. But when it was day, the Parthians

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Jebel Fureidis*, south of Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Jewish War, i. 13, § 8; Antiq. xiv. 15, § 2. Site not known.

plundered all Jerusalem, and the palace, and abstained from nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was three hundred talents. A great deal of Herod's money escaped, especially all that he had been so prudent as to send into Idumæa beforehand. However, what was in the city did not suffice the Parthians, but they went out into the country, and plundered it, and razed to the ground the powerful city of Marissa.<sup>1</sup>

§ 10. Thus was Antigonus restored to Judæa by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaelus as prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as he had promised they should have them, with money, for their reward. And being afraid that Hyrcanus, who was guarded by the Parthians, would have the kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and so took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because he was thus maimed, and the law required that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire.<sup>2</sup> But one cannot but admire the fortitude of Phasaelus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, did not think death terrible at all; but he thought it a most pitiable and dishonourable thing to die at the hands of the enemy, and therefore, since he had not his hands at liberty, for the bonds he was in prevented him from killing himself with them, he dashed his head against a great stone, and so took away his own life, which he thought to be the best thing he could do in such straits as he was in, and so put it out of the power of the enemy to put him to any death he pleased. It is also reported, that when he had made a great wound in his head, Antigonus sent surgeons as if to heal it, and ordered them to infuse poison into the wound, and so killed him. However, Phasaelus hearing from a certain woman, before he was quite dead, that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, underwent his death cheerfully, since he now left behind him one who would revenge his death, and was able to inflict punishment on his enemies.

<sup>1</sup> *Kh. Mer'ash.*

<sup>2</sup> This law of Moses, that the priests were to be 'without blemish,' as to all the parts of their bodies, is in Levit. xxi. 17-24.—W.

## CHAP. XIV.

*How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in haste also to Rome: and how, by promising a great deal of money to Antony, he was made by the Senate and Augustus King of the Jews.*

## § 1.

AS for Herod, the great hardships he underwent did not discourage him, but made him sharp in inventing bold plans. For he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly been very kind to, in order to receive a return now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan or as a free gift, as he had received many benefits from him; for not knowing what had happened to his brother, he was in haste to ransom him out of the hands of his enemies, being willing to give three hundred talents as the price of his ransom. He also took with him the son of Phasaelus, who was a child of but seven years of age, in order that he might be a hostage to the Arabs for the repayment of the money; but there came messengers from Malchus to meet him, by whom he was desired to be off, for the Parthians had charged him not to receive Herod. This was only a pretext which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him: and he was further induced to this by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of the sums they had received from Antipater as a trust. He made answer, that he had not intended to be troublesome to them by his coming to them, but that he had desired only to discourse with them about certain affairs that were of the greatest importance to him.

§ 2. He then resolved to go away, and very prudently took the road to Egypt. And that night he lodged in a certain temple, for he had left a great many of his followers there, but on the next day he reached Rhinocurura,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *el-'Arish*, on the coast between Egypt and Palestine.

and there heard what had befallen his brother. However, Malchus soon repented of what he had done, and came running after Herod, but with no success, for he had got a very great way off, making post haste on the road to Pelusium.<sup>1</sup> And when the ships that lay at anchor there hindered him from sailing to Alexandria, he went to the rulers of the place, by whom, in their reverence and great regard for him, he was conducted to the city, and was detained there by Cleopatra. However she was not able to prevail with him to stay there, because he was making haste to Rome, even though the weather was stormy, and he was informed that affairs in Italy were in great disorder and in a most unsettled condition.

§ 3. So he set sail from thence for Pamphylia,<sup>2</sup> and, falling in with a violent storm, had much ado to escape to Rhodes, with the loss of the ship's burden. And there two of his friends, Sappinas and Ptolemy, met him; and as he found Rhodes had been very much damaged in the war against Cassius, he neglected not to do it a kindness, though he was in necessity himself, but did what he could to restore it to its former state. He also built there a trireme, and set sail thence with his friends for Italy, and arrived at the port of Brundusium;<sup>3</sup> and when he had got from thence to Rome, he first related to Antony what had befallen him in Judæa, and how Phasaelus his brother had been seized by the Parthians, and put to death by them, and how Hyrcanus was detained captive by them, and how they had made Antigonus king, who had promised them no less a sum of money than a thousand talents, and five hundred women (who were to be of the principal families and of the Jewish stock), and how he himself had carried off the women by night, and by undergoing a great many hardships had escaped the hands of his enemies; as also, that his own relations were in danger of being besieged and taken, and that he had sailed through a storm, and despised all these terrible dangers, in order to come as soon as possible to him, who was his hope and only succour at this time.

§ 4. This account made Antony commiserate the change.

<sup>1</sup> *Tineh.*

<sup>2</sup> On the south coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> *Brindisi.*

that had happened in Herod's condition, and reasoning with himself that this was a common case among those that are placed in such great dignities, and that they too are liable to fortune, he was very ready to give him the assistance he desired, partly because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, partly because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly done because he was made tetrarch, but chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the Romans. Augustus was also the forwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which his father had undergone with Antipater in Egypt, and of the hospitable way in which he had treated him, and the kindness he had always showed him, as also to gratify Antony, who was very attached to Herod. So the senate was convened, and Messala and after him Atratinus introduced Herod, and enlarged upon the benefits they had received from his father, and reminded them of the good-will he had himself borne to the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, not only because of his former opposition to them, but because he had now neglected the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated, and Antony came forward and informed them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators, and they made a decree to this effect accordingly.

§ 5. And this was the principal proof of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, for he did not suppose the Romans would grant it him, who generally bestowed it on some of the royal family, but intended to ask it for his wife's brother, who was grandson on the father's side to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus on the mother's side), but procured it for him so soon, little as he expected it, that he left Italy in as few days as seven in all. The young man his brother-in-law Herod afterwards took care to have slain, as I shall show in its proper place. And when the senate was dissolved, Antony and

Augustus went out of the senate-house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the Capitol. Antony also feasted Herod the first day of his reign. And thus did he receive the kingdom, having obtained it in the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time].

§ 6. All this while Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had plenty of all other necessaries, and were only in want of water, so that on that account Joseph, Herod's brother, intended to desert from it with two hundred of his men to the Arabians; for he heard that Malchus repented of the offences he had been guilty of with regard to Herod. But God, by sending rain in the night-time, prevented his going away, for their cisterns were thereby filled, and so he was under no necessity of flight any longer, but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had been in want of, seemed a token of divine providence; so they made a sally, and fought with Antigonus' soldiers, some openly, others from ambush, and slew a great number of them. Meantime Ventidius, the general of the Romans, having been sent to drive the Parthians out of Syria, marched after them into Judæa, ostensibly to succour Joseph, but in reality the whole affair was no more than a stratagem to get money from Antigonus. So he pitched his camp very near Jerusalem, and stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money, and then retired himself with the greater part of his army; but, that his motive might not be found out, he left Silo there with a certain part of his soldiers; and Antigonus also paid court to him, that he might cause him no disturbance, though he still hoped that the Parthians would come again and aid him.

## CHAP. XV.

*How Herod sailed from Italy to Judæa, and fought against Antigonus; also what other things happened in Judæa about this Time.*

## § 1.

BY this time Herod had sailed from Italy to Ptolemais, and had got together no small army both of mercenaries and of his own countrymen, and marched through Galilee against Antigonus. Silo also and Ventidius came and assisted him, being urged by Dellius (who was sent by Antony) to assist in restoring Herod. As for Ventidius, he was employed in settling the disturbances that had been made in the cities because of the Parthians; and as for Silo he was in Judæa, having been bribed by Antigonus. Now as Herod went along, his army increased every day, and all Galilee, with some few exceptions, joined him; but as he was marching to those that were at Masada (for he was obliged to endeavour to save those that were besieged in that fortress because they were his relations) Joppa<sup>1</sup> was a hindrance to him, for it was necessary for him to take that place first, it being a city hostile to him, that no *point d'appui* might be left in his enemies' hands on his rear, when he should go to Jerusalem. And as Silo made this a pretext for departing and was thereupon pursued by the Jews, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men, and not only put the Jews to flight but saved Silo, when he was very poorly able to defend himself. And when Herod had taken Joppa, he made haste to set free those of his friends that were in Masada.<sup>2</sup> Now some of the people of the country joined him because of the friendship they had had to his father, and some because of his own reputation, and others by way of return for the benefits they had received from both of them, but most came to him in hope of getting something from him, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.

§ 2. Herod had now a strong force, and as he marched

<sup>1</sup> *Jaffa.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sebbeh.*

on, Antigonus laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them, but in truth he did thereby little or no damage to his enemy. But Herod recovered his friends out of Masada, and took the fortress of Thresa,<sup>1</sup> and marched on for Jerusalem. The soldiers also that were with Silo accompanied him, as did many of the citizens, being awed at his power. And as soon as he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the soldiers that were set to guard that part shot their arrows, and threw their darts at him. And as some sallied out *en masse*, and fought hand to hand with the front ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should, in the first place, make proclamation near the walls, that he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to revenge any old grudge on even his most open enemies, but was ready to forget the offences which his greatest adversaries had done him. But Antigonus, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, said to Silo and the Roman army, "That they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was only a private man, and an Idumæan, *i.e.*, only half a Jew, whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was. For if they now bore ill-will to him (Antigonus), and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom as having received it from the Parthians, yet were there many others of his family who might by their law take it, and those such as had no way offended against the Romans, and as they were priests, it would be an unworthy thing to pass them by." Now, as they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus permitted his own men to repel the enemy from the walls. And they using their bows, and showing great energy against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

§ 3. And now Silo made it plain that he had taken bribes. For he set many of his soldiers to complain aloud of their want of provisions, and to demand money to buy food, and to insist on being led into places proper for winter quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, because Antigonus' soldiers had looted everything, so he

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiv. 13, § 9.

was for removing the army, and endeavoured to march away. But Herod pressed him not to depart, and exhorted Silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, as Augustus and Antony and the senate had sent him there, for he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great abundance of what they required. After this entreaty he went immediately into the country, and left not the least pretext to Silo for departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his who dwelt near Samaria, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be a plentiful supply for the soldiers for the time to come. Antigonus got to know this, and sent at once all over the country such as might hinder, and lie in ambush for, those that went out for provisions. And they obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of armed men in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and sat upon the mountains on the look out for those that brought provisions. However, Herod did not idly look on at their doing this, for he took ten cohorts of soldiers, of whom five were composed of Romans, and five of Jews, and some mercenaries also, and some few horsemen, and marched to Jericho ; and he found the city deserted, but five hundred occupied the tops of the hills with their wives and children, and these he took and sent away ; but the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things. And the king left a garrison at Jericho, and returned, and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the parts of the country that had come over to him, as Judæa and Galilee and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda,<sup>1</sup> to please Antony. And the Romans now laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty.

§ 4. But Herod was not pleased with being inactive, but despatched his brother Joseph against Idumæa with two thousand armed foot, and four hundred horse, while he himself went to Samaria, and left his mother and his other

<sup>1</sup> *Ludd.*

relations there, for they were already gone from Masada, and set out for Galilee, to capture certain places which were held by the garrisons of Antigonus. And he reached Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> in a snow-storm, and as Antigonus' garrisons had withdrawn, he had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy some robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country, so he sent a troop of horse and three companies of foot against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela;<sup>2</sup> and on the fortieth day he came up himself with his whole army; and as the enemy sallied out boldly against him, the left wing of his army gave way, but he himself, coming up at the nick of time with a compact body of men, put those to flight who were already conquerors, and rallied his men that had fled away. He also pressed hard upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they fled by different roads. And he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and distributed money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a hundred and fifty drachmæ apiece, and much more to their commanders, and sent them into winter quarters. Meantime Silo and the commanders who were in winter quarters came to him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month. Nay, he had sent to all the country round about, and ordered them to carry off the provisions that were there, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine. But Herod committed the care of that matter to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to rebuild Alexandrium<sup>3</sup> also. And he quickly made the soldiers to abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandrium, which had before been desolate.

§ 5. About the same time Antony continued some time at Athens, and Ventidius, who was now in Syria, summoned Silo against the Parthians, and commanded him first to assist Herod to finish the present war, and then to

<sup>1</sup> *Sefurieh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Irbid*, on the hills west of the Sea of Galilee, and above *Meydel*, Magdala.

<sup>3</sup> *Kefr Istūna.*

summon their allies to the war they were themselves engaged in. As for Herod, he went in haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Ventidius, while he himself marched against them. These caves were in mountains<sup>1</sup> that were exceedingly steep, and in the middle had precipitous entrances, and were surrounded by sharp rocks, and the robbers lay concealed in these caves with all their families about them. But the king caused certain cases to be made bound about with iron chains, and hung down by a mechanical contrivance from the top of the mountain, it not being possible to get up to them by reason of the sharp ascent of the mountain, nor to creep down to them from above. Now these cases were filled with armed men, who had long hooks in their hands, by which they could pull out such as resisted them, and then tumble them down the precipices, and kill them by so doing. But the letting down the cases proved to be a matter of great danger, because of the vast depth they were to be let down; and they had their provisions inside with them. But when the cases were let down, and not one of those in the mouths of the caves durst come near them, but remained quiet from fear, one of the armed men girt on his armour, and with both of his hands took hold of the chain by which the case was let down, and went into the mouth of one of the caves, because he fretted that such delay was made by the robbers not daring to come out. And when he was at any of those mouths, he first killed many of those that were in the mouths with his darts, and afterwards pulled to him those that resisted with his hook, and tumbled them down the precipices, and afterwards went into the cave and killed many more, and then returned to his case again, and lay still there; and terror seized the rest, when they heard the lamentations that were made, and they despaired of escaping. However, when night came on, that put an end to the whole work; and, as the king permitted it, many made overtures and delivered up themselves to him as his subjects. The same method of assault was made use of the next day, when Herod's men went further, and got out in baskets to them, and fought them

<sup>1</sup> The caves are in the precipitous rocks of the gorge through which *Wddy Hammám* runs down to the Plain of Gennesareth.

at their doors, and threw fire in among them, and set their caves on fire, for there was a great deal of wood inside them. Now there was one old man who was shut up in one of these caves with seven children and a wife, and they prayed him to give them leave to go out and yield themselves up to the enemy, but he stood at the cave's mouth, and still slew that son of his who went out, till he had killed them every one, and after that he slew his wife, and cast their dead bodies down the precipices, and himself after them, preferring death to slavery. But before he did this, he greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his family, although Herod (who saw what he meant to do) stretched out his hand, and offered him all manner of security for his life. In this way all these caves were at length subdued entirely.

§ 6. And when the king had set Ptolemy over these parts of the country as his general, he went to Samaria, with six hundred horse and three thousand foot, intending to fight against Antigonus. But this command of the army did not succeed well with Ptolemy, for those that had been troublesome in Galilee before attacked him and slew him ; and when they had done this, they fled to the marshes and to places almost inaccessible, laying waste and plundering all that part of the country. But Herod soon returned, and punished them for what they had done ; for some of those rebels he slew, and others of them (who had fled to strongholds) he besieged, and both slew them and demolished their strongholds : and when he had thus put an end to their rebellion, he laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents.

§ 7. Meantime as Pacorus had fallen in battle, and the Parthians had been defeated, Ventidius sent Machæras to the assistance of Herod, with two legions and a thousand horsemen, at the instigation of Antony. But Machæras, at the invitation of Antigonus, without the approbation of Herod, being corrupted by money, went away as if to reconnoitre Antigonus' position. But Antigonus, suspecting the intention of his coming, did not admit him into the city, but kept him at a distance by hurling stones at him from slings, and so plainly showed what he himself meant. And when Machæras was sensible that Herod had given

him good advice, and that he had made a mistake in not hearkening to it, he retired to the city of Emmaus;<sup>1</sup> and whatever Jews he met on the road, he slew, whether they were enemies or friends, from the rage he was in at the hardships he had undergone. The king was provoked at this conduct of his, and went to Samaria, and resolved to go to Antony about these affairs, and to inform him that he stood in no need of such helpers, who did him more harm than they did his enemies, and that he was able of himself to beat Antigonus. But Machæras followed him, and begged that he would remain, or, if he was resolved to go, that he would join his brother Joseph to them, and let him fight against Antigonus. And he was reconciled to Machæras upon his earnest entreaties; and he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, and not to quarrel with Machæras.

§ 8. But he himself made haste to Antony (who was then besieging Samosata,<sup>2</sup> a place near the Euphrates), with troops both of horse and foot who went to his aid. And when he reached Antioch, and found there a great number of men got together, that were very desirous to go to Antony, but durst not venture to go from fear, because the barbarians fell upon them on the road, and slew many, he encouraged them, and became their conductor upon the road. Now when they were within two days' march of Samosata, the barbarians laid an ambush there for those who were going to join Antony; and where the woods made the passes narrow to the plains, there they laid not a few of their cavalry, who were to lie still until those who were to pass by had got into a place where cavalry could manœuvre. Now as soon as their first ranks were gone by (for Herod brought up the rear), those that lay in ambush, who were about five hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, and when they had put the foremost of them to flight, the king came up riding hard, with the forces that were with him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by which means he made the minds of his own men courageous, and emboldened them to go on, insomuch that those who ran away before now rallied, and the barbarians were slain on all sides. The king

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus-Nicopolis, *'Amwâs*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Samsât*, on the Euphrates above *Birajik*.

also went on killing them, and recovered all the baggage (among which were a great number of beasts of burden and slaves) and proceeded on his march ; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the woods that attacked them, and were near the outlet into the plain, he made a sally upon these also with a strong body of men, and put them to flight, and slew many of them, and thereby rendered the way safe for those that came after ; and they called Herod their saviour and protector.

§ 9. And when he was near Samosata, Antony sent out his army in all their pomp to meet him, partly to pay Herod this respect, partly as a reinforcement, for he had heard of the attacks the barbarians had made upon him. He also was very glad to see him, having been made acquainted with the great actions he had performed upon the road, and he entertained him very kindly, and could not but admire his courage. Antony also embraced him as soon as he saw him, and saluted him in a most affectionate manner, and highly honoured him, as having himself lately made him a king. And in a little time Antiochus delivered up the fortress, and so the war was at an end ; so Antony handed over the command to Sossius, and gave him orders to assist Herod, and himself went to Egypt. And Sossius sent two legions on to Judæa to the assistance of Herod, and followed himself with the main body of his army.

§ 10. Now Joseph had been already slain in Judæa in the following manner. He forgot the injunctions his brother Herod had given him when he went to Antony ; and when he had pitched his camp among the mountains, as Machæras had lent him five regiments, he went hastily with them to Jericho, in order to reap the corn in that district ; and as the Roman regiments were but newly raised, and were unskilled in war (for they were in great part collected out of Syria) he was attacked by the enemy, and entangled on difficult ground, and was himself slain fighting bravely, and lost his whole army, for six regiments were cut to pieces. And when Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies, he cut off Joseph's head, although his brother Pheroras would have redeemed it for fifty talents. After this defeat the Galilæans revolted from their commanders, and drowned those of Herod's party in

the lake, and a great part of Judæa became seditious; but Machæras fortified the place Giththa.<sup>1</sup>

§ 11. Meantime messengers came to Herod, and informed him of what had happened, and when he was come to Daphne near Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which he had indeed expected from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreshowed his brother's death. So he hastened his march, and when he came to mount Libanus, he took about eight hundred of the men of that neighbourhood, having already with him also one Roman legion, and went to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded through Galilee. Here the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shut up in the same fortress whence they had sallied out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning, but by reason of a great storm that then broke out, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the neighbouring villages; but as soon as a second legion that Antony sent him had come, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night-time. Then did the king march hastily to Jericho, intending to avenge himself on the enemy for the slaughter of his brother. And when he had encamped there, he made a feast for the principal people, and after this collation was over, he dismissed his guests, and retired to his own chamber. And here one may see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed nobody, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, since he had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

§ 12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight, which greatly terrified the Romans; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and pelted the king's guards who had come out with him with darts and stones, and one of them hit the king himself on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander whose name was Pappus, with some forces against Samaria, being desirous to show the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Gittah-Heper, or Gath-Heper, of Josh. xix. 13, and 2 Kings xiv. 25. Now *el-Mesh-hed*, three miles N.E. of Nazareth.

enemy how strong he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them : while he himself sat down to oppose Machæras. But Herod, when he had taken five cities, slew those who were left in them, who were about two thousand, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isanas ;<sup>1</sup> and there flocked to him many from Jericho and Judæa, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so confident were they, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight, and in order to be revenged on them for the slaughter of his brother, he pursued them hotly, and killed them as they ran away. And as the houses were full of armed men, and many of them fled to the tops of the houses, he got possession of these, and pulled down the roofs of the houses, and saw the rooms below full of soldiers that were caught all together. And they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and so killed them : nor was there a more frightful spectacle in all the war than outside the walls, where an immense number of dead bodies lay heaped upon one another. It was this action which chiefly broke the spirits of the enemy, who looked anxiously to the future. For there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but ran away ; and had it not been that the depth of winter prevented them, the king's army would have gone to Jerusalem, being very courageous at this good success, and would have brought the whole war to an end. For Antigonus was already on the *qui vive* to flee away and leave the city.

§ 13. Then the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper (for it was late at night) while he himself went into a chamber to have a bath (for he was very weary), and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet by God's providence he escaped. For as he was naked, and had but one servant with him as he was bathing in an inner room, some of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled there out of fear, were then in the place ; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Jeshanah of 2 Chron. xiii. 19 ; now 'Ain Sinia, in the valley N. of *Beitin*, Bethel.

with his sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second and a third, armed in like manner, and were in such consternation that they did no hurt to the king, and thought themselves to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, but getting safe out of the house. On the next day Herod cut off the head of Pappus (for he was already slain) and sent it to Pheroras, in revenge for what their brother had suffered at his hands, for he had slain him with his own hand.

§ 14. When the winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp hard by that city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome. And as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched his camp before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as Pompey had done formerly. So he threw up three bulwarks round the place, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands in the work, and cut down the trees that were round about. And when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, while the army still lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria to marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander (the son of Aristobulus), to whom he was already betrothed, as I have before related.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Herod, when he had married Mariamne, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Sossius, by Force, and how the Reign of the Asamonœans was put an end to.*

### § 1.

AFTER the wedding was over, came Sossius through Phœnicia, having sent on his army before him through the interior of the country. The commander also followed himself with a great number of horse and foot. The king also himself came from Samaria,<sup>1</sup> and brought with him

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.*

no small army, besides that which had been there long before, for they were about thirty thousand : and they all mustered together at the walls of Jerusalem, and encamped near the north wall of the city, being now an army of eleven legions of foot, and six thousand horse, besides reinforcements from Syria. The generals were two, Sossius sent by Antony to assist Herod, and Herod on his own account, in order to take the government from Antigonus (who was declared an enemy to Rome) and that he might himself be king according to the decree of the senate.

§ 2. Now the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great energy and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together); they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and foretold many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them out of the dangers they were in ; they had also carried off whatever they could that was outside the city, that they might not leave anything to afford sustenance either to men or beasts, and by private robberies they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod observed this, he set ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from remote places, so that in a little time they had great plenty of necessaries. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon them ; for it was summer time, and there was nothing to hinder their erection, either from the atmosphere or from the workmen : so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in. However, they did not terrify those within, but they also contrived not a few engines to oppose their engines with. They also sallied out, and burnt not only those engines that were not completed, but those that were ; and when they fought hand to hand, their daring was not less bold than that of the Romans, though they were behind them in skill. They also erected new works when the former ones were demolished, and making mines underground, met each other in battle there ; and in reckless daring rather than prudence, they persisted in this war to the very last : and that though a mighty army lay round them, and they were dis-

tressed by famine and want of necessaries, for it happened to be a sabbatic year. The first that scaled the walls were twenty picked men, the next were Sossius's centurions, for the first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more, when some of the porticoes that were round the temple were burnt, which Herod alleged were burnt by Antigonus, in order to expose him to the hatred of the Jews. And when the outer court of the temple and the lower part of the city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple and into the upper part of the city : but fearing that the Romans would hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassage, and begged that they would permit them only to bring in beasts for sacrifices, which Herod granted, hoping they were going to yield ; but when he saw that they did nothing of what he expected, but bitterly opposed him, in order to preserve the kingdom to Antigonus, he made an assault on the city, and took it by storm. And at once all parts of it were full of those that were slain by the rage of the Romans at the long duration of the siege, and by the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod's side, who were not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive. So they were murdered continually in the narrow streets and in the houses by crowds, and as they were fleeing to the temple for shelter, and there was no pity taken either of infants or the aged, nor did they spare so much as the weaker sex ; nay, although the king sent round, and besought them to spare the people, yet none restrained their hand from slaughter, but, as if they were a company of madmen, they fell upon persons of all ages without distinction. At last Antigonus, without regard to either his past or present circumstances, came down from the citadel, and fell down at the feet of Sossius, who took no pity on him in this change of fortune, but insulted him beyond measure, and called him Antigone [*i.e.*, a woman and not a man] ; however, he did not treat him as if he were a woman by letting him go free, but put him into bonds and kept him in close custody.

§ 3. And now Herod, having overcome his enemies, had to check those foreigners who had been his allies, for the crowd of strangers rushed to see the temple and the sacred

things in the sanctuary. But the king thinking victory a more severe affliction than defeat, if any of those things which it was not lawful to see should be seen by them, used entreaties and threatenings, and sometimes even force itself, to restrain them. He also stopped the plundering that was going on in the city, and many times asked Sossius, whether the Romans would empty the city both of money and men, and leave him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole world as by no means an equivalent for such a wholesale murder of his citizens; and when Sossius said, that this plunder was justly permitted the soldiers in return for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one a reward out of his own money, and so he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction. And he performed what he promised, for he gave a handsome present to every soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and a most royal present to Sossius himself, so that all went away with plenty of money.

§ 4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninus Gallus were consuls at Rome, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> in the third month, on the solemn fast day, as if a cycle of calamity had come round since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by Sossius on the same day twenty-seven years after. And when Sossius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, taking Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony. But Herod was afraid that Antigonus would be kept in bonds and carried to Rome by Antony, and might get his cause heard by the senate, and might show, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that it belonged to his sons to have the kingdom, on account of their family, if he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Herod fearing this, by giving Antony a great deal of money, persuaded him to have Antigonus slain, which being done, he was free from fear. And thus did the reign of the Asamonæans cease, a hundred and twenty-six years after it was first set up. This family

<sup>1</sup> In B.C. 37.

was a splendid and an illustrious one, not only on account of the nobility of its stock and the dignity of the high priesthood, but also for the glorious actions its ancestors had performed for our nation. However they lost the kingdom by their dissensions with one another, and it was transferred to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of a common family, and of private extraction, and a subject of the kings. And this is what history tells us of the end of the Asamonæan family.

## BOOK XV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS.—FROM  
THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE  
TEMPLE BY HEROD.

### CHAP. I.

*Concerning Pollio and Sameas. Herod slays the principal of Antigonus' Friends, and spoils the City of its Wealth. Antony beheads Antigonus.*

#### § 1.

HOW Sossius and Herod took Jerusalem by storm, and how they also took Antigonus captive, has been related by me in the previous book. I shall now proceed in the narrative. Since Herod had now the government of all Judæa put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been of his party, but never left off punishing and revenging himself every day on those that had chosen the party of his enemies. But Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas a disciple of Pollio, were honoured by him above all the rest, because when Jerusalem was besieged, they had advised the citizens to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited. Now this Sameas, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold Hyrcanus and the other

judges reproachingly that this Herod, if they suffered him to escape, would afterwards avenge himself on them all. This prediction had its fulfilment in time, when God made good the words Sameas had spoken.

§ 2. At this time Herod, now that he had got Jerusalem in his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and also spoiled the wealthy men of what they had got, and when he had heaped together by these means a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony and his friends that were about him. He also put to death forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus' party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out with their dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatever was found on them, either silver or gold or other treasure, was carried to the king. Nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was partly occasioned by Herod's own covetousness, who was still in want of more, and partly by the sabbatic year, which was on, which forced the country to lie uncultivated, since we are forbidden to sow the land in that year. Now when Antony had received Antigonus as his captive, he had determined to keep him in bonds till his triumph; but when he heard that the nation was growing rebellious, and that they continued to bear good-will to Antigonus, because of their hatred to Herod, he resolved to behead him at Antioch, for otherwise the Jews could no way be brought to be quiet. And Strabo of Cappadocia<sup>1</sup> bears out what I have said, where he speaks as follows. "Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there beheaded him: and this Antony seems to me to have been the first of the Romans that beheaded a king, supposing he could in no other way bend the minds of the Jews to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead; for by no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness had they for their former king. So he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus' memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bore to Herod." Thus far Strabo.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo was born at Amasia, in Pontus.

## CHAP II.

*How Hyrcanus was set at liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod, and what Alexandra did when she heard that Ananelus was made High Priest.*

## § 1.

NOW after Herod got possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest (who was then a captive among the Parthians) hearing of it returned to him, being set free from his captivity in the following manner. Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, took Hyrcanus, who was first made high priest and afterwards king, and Herod's brother Phasaelus, captives, and intended to carry them away into Parthia. Phasaelus, indeed, could not bear the reproach of being in bonds, and thinking that death with glory was better than any life whatever, committed suicide, as I have formerly related.

§ 2. But when Hyrcanus was brought into Parthia, the king Phraates treated him in a very kind manner, having already learned of what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and allowed him to dwell at Babylon,<sup>1</sup> where there was a quantity of Jews. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as the Euphrates; which was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him as having been himself from the beginning of a kind disposition towards him, and he expected that Herod would bear in mind the favour he had received from him when he was upon his trial, for when he ran risk of a capital sentence being pronounced against him, he delivered him from

<sup>1</sup> The city here called Babylon by Josephus, seems to be one which was built by some of the Seleucidæ upon the Tigris, which long after the utter desolation of Old Babylon was commonly so called, and I suppose not far from Seleucia; just as the latter adjoining city Bagdat has been often called by the same old name of Babylon to this very day.—W.

that risk and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews who often came to him from their great affection to him. But they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, reminding him of the services and honours they had done him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings; and what was a greater motive to determine him, they argued, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judæa] because of that mutilation on his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus. They said also that kings did not usually re- quite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, the height of their fortune pro- ducing usually no small change in them.

§ 3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and begged him to ask Phraates and the Jews that were there not to grudge him the royal authority, which he should have jointly with himself, for now was the proper time to make him a return for the favours he had received from him, having been brought up by him, and saved alive by him also, and for Hyrcanus to receive it. As he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he also send his ambassador Saramallas to Phraates with many presents, and begged him in the most obliging way to be no hindrance to his gratitude towards his benefactor. But this zeal of Herod's did not flow from the principle of gratitude, but because he had been made king of Judæa without having any just claim to that position, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough, of a change in his condition, and so was anxious to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way: which last thing he compassed eventually.

§ 4. However, when Hyrcanus came full of assurance, on the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feasts, and thereby deceived him, calling him father, and endeavouring in all possible ways that he might have

no suspicion of any treacherous design against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his power, which occasioned strife in his own family ; for being wary how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he sent for an obscure priest from Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.

§ 5. Now Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander (the son of king Aristobulus), who had children by Alexander, could not from the first bear this outrage. Her son was of the greatest comeliness, and was called Aristobulus ; and her daughter, Mariamne, married to Herod, was eminent for her beauty also. Alexandra was much disturbed, and took this indignity offered to her son exceedingly ill, that while he was alive, any foreigner should have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him. So she wrote to Cleopatra (a musician assisting her in taking care to have her letter transmitted) to desire her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.

§ 6. But as Antony was slow in granting this request, his friend Dellius who came into Judæa upon some affairs, when he saw Aristobulus, marvelled at the tallness and handsomeness of the lad, and no less at Mariamne the king's wife, and was open in his commendations of Alexandra, as the mother of most beautiful children. And when she had a conversation with him, he urged her to get pictures drawn of them both, and to send them to Antony, for he said Antony, when he saw them, would deny her nothing that she should ask. And Alexandra was elated with these words of his, and sent their pictures to Antony. Dellius also talked extravagantly, and said, that those children seemed not derived from men, but from some god or other. His design in doing so was to entice Antony into lewd pleasures with them, who was ashamed to send for the damsel, as being the wife of Herod, and avoided it also because of the reproaches he would have from Cleopatra on that account, but he sent in the most decent manner he could for the young man, adding withal, " Unless it would give offence." When this letter was brought to Herod, he did not think it safe for him to send one so handsome as Aristobulus

was, in the prime of his life (for he was but sixteen years of age) and of so noble a family, and particularly to Antony, the principal man among the Romans, and one that would abuse him in his amours, being a man that openly indulged himself in pleasure (as his power allowed him) without control. He therefore wrote back to him, that if the lad should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government, and of having another king over them.

§ 7. When Herod had thus excused himself to Antony, he resolved that he would not leave either the lad or Alexandra entirely without honour, and his wife Mariamne was vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and he judged it was for his advantage so to do, because, if he once had that dignity, he could not go out of the country. So he called all his friends together, and brought many charges against Alexandra, and said that she had privately conspired against his royal authority, and had endeavoured by means of Cleopatra so to bring it about that he might be deprived of the government, and that by Antony's means Aristobulus might have the management of public affairs in his stead, and that this wish of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had got it by undergoing extraordinary dangers. He said also that, though he well remembered her wicked practices, he would not leave off doing what was right himself, but would even now give the youth the high priesthood, and that he had formerly set up Ananelus, only because Aristobulus was then so very young a boy. Now when he had said this, not at random, but (as he meant) most advisedly, in order to deceive the women and those friends whom he had taken into consultation, Alexandra, from the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and from fear at the suspicions she lay under, fell a-weeping, and made the following apology for herself. She said, that as to the high priesthood, she was very much concerned at the slight put on her son, and so used her utmost endeavours to procure it for him, but that as to

the kingdom she had made no attempts, and if it were offered her she would not accept it, for now she had enough honour, and as Herod himself occupied the throne, she had thereby security from his exceptional ability in governing for all her family. She added that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted the honour for her son, and would hereafter be entirely obedient; and she desired him to excuse her, if the nobility of her family and her freespokenness had made her act too precipitately from her indignation. When they had spoken thus to one another, they came to a mutual understanding, and all suspicion, as far as appearances went, vanished away.

### CHAP. III.

*How Herod, upon his making Aristobulus High Priest, took care that he should be murdered in a little time: and what apology he made to Antony about Aristobulus; as also concerning Joseph and Mariamne.*

#### § 1.

SO king Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who, as I said before, was not a native of our country, but was descended from one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond the Euphrates. For not a few myriads of our people had been carried away captive, and dwelt in Babylonia, whence Ananelus came, who was of the stock of the high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod; who when he was first made king, conferred that dignity upon him, and now took it away from him again, in order to quiet the troubles in his family, though what he did was plainly unlawful. For at no period had any one that had once been in that dignity been deprived of it, till Antiochus Epiphanes first broke the law, and deprived Jesus, and made his brother Onias high priest in his stead. Aristobulus was the second that did so, and took that dignity from his brother Hyrcanus: and Herod was the third, who took that high office away [from Ananelus], and gave it to the lad Aristobulus in his stead.

§ 2. And now Herod seemed to have healed the divisions in his family ; yet was he not without suspicion, as is frequently the case after an apparent reconciliation, for he thought that, as Alexandra had already made attempts tending to innovation, he had reason to fear that she would go on therein, if she found a fit opportunity for so doing. So he ordered her to dwell in the palace, and meddle with no public affairs : her guards also watched her so, that nothing she did in private life every day was concealed. All this put her out of patience, by little and little, and she began to hate Herod. For as she had the pride of a woman to the utmost degree, she had great indignation at this suspicious guard that was about her, being desirous rather to undergo anything that could befall her than to be deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the specious pomp of a guard of honour, to live in a state of slavery and terror. She therefore sent to Cleopatra, and made a long complaint of the circumstances she was in, and entreated her to do her utmost for her assistance. Cleopatra thereupon advised her to take her son with her, and escape immediately to her into Egypt. This advice pleased her, and she planned the following contrivance for getting away : she got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road thence lay to the sea-side, and there was a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. Now Æsop, one of her servants, happened to fall in with Sabbion, one of her friends, and spoke of this matter to him, thinking he already knew of it. When Sabbion got to know this, (who had formerly been an enemy of Herod, and been esteemed one of those that had plotted against and given the poison to Antipater,) he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this stratagem of Alexandra. And he suffered her to proceed to the execution of her project, and caught her in the very act of flight, but still passed by her offence : for though he had a great mind to do so, he durst not inflict any severe treatment upon her (for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that he should have her accused,

on account of her hatred to him), but made believe that it was rather his generosity of soul, and great moderation, that made him forgive her and her son. However, he fully determined to put the young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he would probably evade notice in doing so, if he did not do it quickly, or immediately after what had just happened.

§ 3. So upon the approach of the feast of Tabernacles (which is a festival very much observed among us) he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were very merry therein. Nevertheless the envy which at this time arose in him, caused him to make haste to do what he was about, and provoked him to do it. For when the youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, to offer the sacrifices according to the law, and that in the dress of the high priest, as he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men of his age usually were, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of the high family he was sprung from, and a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus evidently came to their minds. And their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not conceal their feelings. They at once rejoiced and grieved, and mingled with good wishes the joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident, and they proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family more rashly than it was fit under a monarchy to do. In consequence of all this Herod resolved to carry out his intention against the young man. When, therefore, the festival was over, and he was feasting at Jericho with Alexandra, who entertained him there, he was very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the temperature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they soon went out *en masse* from languor, and as they stood by the fish ponds, of which there were several large ones about the house, they proceeded to cool themselves [by bathing], because it was the noon of a very hot day. At first they were only spectators

of Herod's servants and acquaintances as they were swimming, but after a while, the young man, at the suggestion of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintances as he had appointed to do so ducked him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, as the darkness came on, as if it was in sport only, nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated. And thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and had the high priesthood one year only, and Ananelus now got back the high priesthood again.

§ 4. When what had happened was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immoderate. The city also on the spreading of this news was in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it belonged not to another, but one of themselves had died. But Alexandra was more deeply affected, upon her knowledge of her son's death. Her sorrow was greater than that of others, by her knowing how the murder was committed, but she was under a necessity of bearing up under it, from the prospect of greater mischief that might otherwise follow. Indeed she often thought of killing herself with her own hands, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to revenge the unjust murder thus ingeniously committed ; nay, she further resolved to endeavour to live longer, and to give no occasion to let it be thought she suspected her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be in a position to revenge it at a fit opportunity. Thus did she restrain herself, that she might not be thought to entertain any such suspicion. And Herod plausibly contrived that none abroad should believe that the lad's death was caused by malice prepense, so he not only used the ordinary signs of sorrow, but shed tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul : and perhaps his emotions overcame him, when he saw the lad's countenance, so young and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security ; so far at least this grief served as to make some apology for him. Moreover he took care that his funeral should be very magnificent, by making great preparation for a sepulchre to lay his body in, and by provid-

ing a great quantity of spices, and by burying many ornaments with him, till the very women, who were in such deep sorrow, were astonished at his conduct, and received in this way some consolation.

§ 5. However, no such things could overcome Alexandra's grief, but the remembrance of this tragedy made her sorrow both deep and obstinate. And she wrote an account of Herod's treacherous behaviour to Cleopatra, and how her son was murdered; and Cleopatra, who had even formerly been desirous to give her what satisfaction she could, commiserating Alexandra's misfortunes, made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but egged him on to punish the lad's murderer; for she said it was an unworthy thing that Herod, who had been made king by him of a kingdom that no way belonged to him, should be guilty of such horrid crimes against those that were the kings *de jure*. Antony was persuaded by these arguments, and when he went to Laodicea, he sent and commanded Herod to come and make his defence as to what he had done to Aristobulus, for he said that such a treacherous design was not well done, if he had any hand in it. Herod was now afraid both of this charge, and of Cleopatra's ill-will to him, which was such, that she was ever endeavouring to make Antony hate him. He, therefore, determined to obey his summons, for he had no possible way to avoid it: and he left his uncle Joseph regent and at the head of public affairs, and gave him a private charge, that if Antony should kill him, he also should kill Mariamne immediately; for he said he had a tender affection for his wife, and was afraid of the injury that would be offered him, if, after his death, she, for her beauty, should be courted by some other man. But his intimation was nothing but this at bottom, that Antony had fallen in love with her because he had formerly casually heard of her beauty. And when Herod had given Joseph this charge, and had, indeed, no sure hopes of escaping with his life, he set out for Antony.

§ 6. Now as Joseph administered the public affairs of the kingdom, and for that reason was very frequently with Mariamne, both because his business required it, and because of the respect he ought to pay to the queen, he fre-

quently fell into discourse about Herod's great love and affection towards her. And when the women, and especially Alexandra, rallied him on his words in feminine manner, Joseph was so over desirous to show the king's state of mind, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his proof that Herod was not able to live without her, for if he should come to an ill end, he could not endure a separation from her, even after he was dead. Thus spoke Joseph. But the women, as was natural, did not take this to be a proof of Herod's strong affection for them, but of his savageness, that they could not escape destruction, nor a tyrannical death, even when he was dead himself, so that this communication made them entertain grave suspicion of Herod.

§ 7. Meantime a report went about the city of Jerusalem, set in motion by Herod's enemies, that Antony had tortured Herod and had him put to death. This report, as was natural, agitated those that were in the palace, but chiefly the women. And Alexandra endeavoured to persuade Joseph to go out of the palace, and flee to the ensigns of the Roman legion, which then lay encamped about the city as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for so, if any disturbance should happen in the palace, they would be in greater security, having the Romans favourable to them; they hoped also to obtain the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Mariamne, by whose means they might recover the kingdom, and want nothing which it was natural for them to hope for because of their royal extraction.

§ 8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, a letter arrived from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and to what they had anticipated. For when he was come to Antony, he soon recovered his interest with him, through the presents he had brought for him from Jerusalem, and soon induced him, upon conversing with him, to leave off his indignation at him, so that Cleopatra's words had less force than the arguments and presents he brought to regain his friendship. And Antony said that it was not good to require an account of a king as to the management of his kingdom, for at this rate he could be no king at all, but those who

had given him that authority ought to permit him to make use of it. He also said the same to Cleopatra, and told her that it would be best for her not to inquire too closely into the acts of princes. Herod wrote home an account of all this, and enlarged upon the other honours which he received from Antony, how he sat by him on the judgment seat, and feasted with him every day, and enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the calumnies of Cleopatra, who having a great desire for his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with the utmost diligence to get him out of the way. He added that he still found Antony just to him, and had no longer any apprehensions of harsh treatment from him; and that he should soon return, with a firmer assurance of his favour to him in his reign and management of public affairs; and that there was no longer any hope for Cleopatra's cupidity, as Antony had given her Cœle-Syria instead of what she desired, by which means he had at once pacified her, and got rid of the entreaties which she made to him for Judæa to be bestowed upon her.

§ 9. When this letter was brought, the women abandoned their project of fleeing to the Romans, when Herod was supposed to be dead, yet was not that purpose of theirs a secret; for when the king had conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judæa, where both his sister Salome and his mother informed him at once of Alexandra's intentions. Salome also added further the calumny against her own husband Joseph that he had often had criminal connexion with Mariamne. The reason of her saying so was this, that she had for a long time borne her ill-will, for when they had had disputes with one another, Mariamne had with too much pride reproached her and her mother with the meanness of their birth. But Herod, whose affection to Mariamne was always very warm, was at once greatly agitated at this, and could not bear his torments of jealousy, but was restrained from doing any rash thing to her by the love he had for her, yet did his vehement affection and jealousy together make him question Mariamne by herself about this charge in connection with Joseph. And she denied it upon her oath, and said all

that an innocent woman could possibly say in her own defence, so that by little and little the king was prevailed upon to drop his suspicion, and left off his anger at her; and being overcome with his passion for his wife, he made an apology to her for having seemed to believe what he had heard about her, and made her many acknowledgments of her modest behaviour, and confessed the great affection and love he had for her, till at last, as is usual with lovers, they both fell into tears, and embraced one another with the most tender affection. But as the king gave more and more assurances of his belief in her fidelity, and endeavoured to draw her to a like confidence in him, Mariamne said, “The command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion of it, should perish with thee, was no sign of thy love to me.” When these words had fallen from her, the king was in a violent rage, and at once let her go out of his arms, and cried out, and tore his hair with his hands, and said that now he had a clear proof that Joseph had had criminal connexion with her, for he would never have uttered what he had been privately told, unless there had been great familiarity and mutual understanding between them. And while he was in this passion he had liked to have killed his wife, but being overcome by his love for her, he restrained this impulse, though not without lasting grief and disorder of mind. However, he gave orders to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he had her kept in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Cleopatra, when she had got from Antony some parts of Judæa and Arabia, came into Judæa; and how Herod gave her many Presents, and conducted her on her way back to Egypt.*

### § 1.

NOW at this time the affairs of Syria were in confusion owing to Cleopatra’s constantly urging Antony to make an attempt upon everybody’s dominions. For she

kept urging him to take their dominions away from the several princes, and bestow them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, because of his passion for her. She was also by nature very covetous, and stuck at no wickedness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he would be king, when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Arsinoe to be slain, by means of Antony, when she was a suppliant at Diana's temple at Ephesus. Indeed if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres, nor was there any holy place, that was esteemed the most inviolable, from which she would not strip the ornaments it had in it; nor any place so profane, but would suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this abandoned creature. Yet did not all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted everything she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she was ever egging Antony on to deprive others of their dominions, and give them to her. And as she went over Syria with him, she purposed getting it into her possession; so she slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy, accusing him of bringing the Parthians into those parts. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judaea and Arabia, and desired him to take those countries away from their present kings. As for Antony, he was so entirely enthralled by the woman, that one would not think her intimacy with him only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatever she would have him; yet did her injustice when manifest make him so ashamed, that he would not always hearken to her, to do those flagrant enormities she would urge him to. That therefore he might not either totally deny her, or, by doing everything which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an unjust man, he took some parts only of each of those countries away from their rulers, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were on this side the river Eleutherus<sup>1</sup> as far as Egypt, except Tyre and

<sup>1</sup> The *Nahr el-Kebir*, north of Tripolis.

Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she pressed him very often to bestow those on her also.

§ 2. When Cleopatra had obtained thus much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia as far as the Euphrates, she returned back, and came to Apamea<sup>1</sup> and Damascus, and passed on to Judæa, where Herod met her, and hired from her those parts of Arabia that had been given to her, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious thing that is there, and grows there alone, and also palm-trees, both numerous and excellent. When she was there, she was very often with Herod, and endeavoured to have criminal intercourse with him, nor did she affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had some passion for him, or rather (as is more probable) she laid a treacherous snare for him if adulterous intercourse with him resulted; however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love for him. Now Herod had a long while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, knowing that she was a woman troublesome to everybody, and at this time he thought her particularly worthy of hatred, if her attempt proceeded from lust; he also thought of preventing her intrigues, if such were her motives, by putting her to death. And he refused to comply with her proposals, and called a council of his friends to consult with them, whether he should not kill her, now he had her in his power? for he would thereby deliver from a multitude of evils all those to whom she was already troublesome, and was expected to be so also for the time to come; and this very thing would be much for the advantage of Antony himself, since she would certainly not be faithful to him, if any conjuncture or necessity should make him stand in need of her fidelity. But when he thought of this, his friends would not hear of it, but told him in the first place that it was not right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself thereby into the plainest danger; and they urged and begged of him to undertake nothing rashly, for

<sup>1</sup> *Kal'ât el-Medyk.*

Antony would never stand it, no, not though any one should evidently lay before his eyes that it was for his own advantage; and that the idea of having lost her by this violent and treacherous method, would probably set his affections more in a flame than before. Nor did it appear that Herod could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his defence, this attempt being against a woman of the highest dignity of any of her sex at that time in the world; and as to any advantage to be expected from such an undertaking, if any such could be supposed in this case, it would appear to deserve condemnation on account of the insolence of carrying it out. These considerations made it very plain that in so doing he would find his reign filled with great and lasting mischiefs both to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in his power to reject the wickedness she wanted to persuade him to, and to come off honourably at the same time. By thus frightening Herod, and representing to him the hazard he would, in all probability, run by this undertaking, they restrained him from it. So he paid court to Cleopatra, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt.

§ 3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, prisoner to Egypt with his sons and satraps, and made a present of them and of all the royal ornaments which he had taken out of that kingdom to Cleopatra. But Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who escaped at that time, took the kingdom of Armenia, and was afterwards ejected by Archelaus and Nero Cæsar, when they restored Tigranes, his younger brother, to that kingdom: but this happened some time afterwards.

§ 4. Now as to the tribute which Herod was to pay Cleopatra for the territory which Antony had given her, he acted fairly with her, not deeming it safe for him to give Cleopatra any reason to hate him. As for the king of Arabia, whose tribute Herod also received, for some time indeed he paid him the two hundred talents, but he afterwards became very disaffected to him and slow in his payments, and could hardly be brought to pay some portion of it, and was not willing to pay even that without fraud.

## CHAP. V.

*How Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and after they had fought many Battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabs to be Ruler of their Nation ; as also concerning a great Earthquake.*

## § 1.

THEREUPON Herod got ready to march against the king of Arabia, because of his ill conduct, and because he would no longer do what was just, but made the Roman war an occasion of delay. For the battle off Actium was now expected, which came off in the hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad, in which Augustus and Antony were to fight for the sovereignty of the world : and Herod having enjoyed now for a long time a country that was very fruitful, and having got great taxes and resources, enlisted a body of men, and carefully furnished them with all necessaries, as auxiliaries for Antony. But Antony said he had no need of his assistance, but commanded him to punish the king of Arabia (for he had heard both from him and from Cleopatra of his perfidy). And this was what Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own advantage that these two kings should mutually weaken one another. On this message from Antony, Herod returned back, but kept his army with him, in order to invade Arabia immediately. And when his army of horse and foot was ready, he marched to Diospolis,<sup>1</sup> where the Arabians came to meet him, for they were not unapprized of this war that was coming upon them ; and after a well-contested battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory. But afterwards a numerous army of Arabians concentrated at Cana, which is a place in Cœle-Syria. Herod was informed of this beforehand, so he marched against them with most of the forces he had ; and when he was come near to Cana, he resolved to encamp himself, and began to entrench his camp, that he might take an advantageous

<sup>1</sup> Lydda, Ludd.

season for attacking the enemy; but as he was giving those orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out, that he should make no delay, but lead them at once against the Arabians. They were impetuous for the fray because they believed in their excellent discipline, and especially those who had been in the former battle, and had been conquerors, and had not permitted the enemy so much as to come to close quarters with them. And as they were so tumultuous, and showed such great zeal, the king resolved to avail himself of the readiness the multitude then exhibited; and when he had assured them he would not be behindhand with them in courage, he led them on, and was at their head in his armour, all the men following him in their several ranks. And a panic fell at once upon the Arabians; for when they perceived that the Jews were not to be conquered, and were full of spirit, most of them after a short resistance ran away and avoided fighting, and they would have been cut to pieces, had not Athenion fallen upon the Jews and Herod. He was Cleopatra's general over the soldiers she had in those parts, and was at enmity with Herod, and very wistfully looked on to see what the event of the battle would be: for he had resolved, if the Arabians did anything that was brilliant, to remain still, but if they were beaten, as really happened, to attack the Jews with those forces he had of his own, and with those that had flocked to him from that region. And he fell upon the Jews unexpectedly, and made a great slaughter of them, when they were fatigued, and thought they had already vanquished the enemy. For as the Jews had spent their courage upon their known enemies, and were about to enjoy themselves in fancied security after the victory, they were easily beaten by these that now attacked them, and received great loss in ground which was stony, and where their horses could not be of service, and where those that attacked them were better acquainted with the ground than themselves. And when the Jews had suffered this reverse, the Arabians plucked up their spirits again and returned back and slew those that were already routed: and indeed all sorts of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that fled only a few got back safe to the camp. And king Herod, as he

despaired of the battle, rode off to them to bring them assistance, however he did not come up in time enough to do them any service, though he tried hard to do so, for the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained that victory which by themselves they were no way likely to have gained, and having slain a great part of the enemy's army. And thenceforward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make incursions into many parts of Arabia, and distress them by sudden raids, encamping among the mountains, and avoiding by any means coming to a pitched battle, yet greatly harassing the enemy by his assiduity and the pains he took in the matter. He also took great care of his own men, and used all the means he could to correct this reverse.

§ 2. Meantime the sea-fight happened off Actium,<sup>1</sup> between Augustus and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod;<sup>2</sup> and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judæa, such as had not happened at any other time, and which brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About thirty thousand men also perished by the fall of houses; but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and when those that hated the Jews took pleasure in exaggerating the facts, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they seized on the Jewish ambassadors (who came to them after all this had happened to make peace with them) and slew them, and marched with great energy against their army. And the Jews durst not withstand them, and were so cast down by their calamities, that they took no care of their affairs, but gave up themselves to

<sup>1</sup> The promontory of Actium was at the entrance of the Ambraciot Gulf, now the *Gulf of Arta*, and opposite the modern town of *Prevesa*.

<sup>2</sup> The reader is here to take notice, that this 'seventh' year of the reign of Herod, and all the other years of his reign, in Josephus, are dated from the death of Antigonus, or at the soonest from the conquest of Antigonus, and the taking of Jerusalem a few months before, and never from his first obtaining the kingdom at Rome above three years before, as some have very weakly and injudiciously done.—W.

despair, for they had no hope that they should be upon an equality with them again in battle, nor obtain any assistance elsewhere while their affairs at home were in such great distress. When matters were in this condition, the king tried to animate the commanders by his words, and to raise their spirits which were quite sunk. And first he endeavoured to encourage and embolden some of the better sort, and then ventured to make a speech to the multitude, which he had before avoided doing, lest he should find them uneasy thereat, because of their reverses. And he made an hortatory speech to the multitude in the following words.

§ 3. " You are not ignorant, fellow-soldiers, that we have had not long since many reverses that have put a stop to what we are about ; and it is probable that even those that are most distinguished above others for their courage can hardly keep up their spirits in such circumstances ; but since we cannot avoid fighting, and nothing that has happened is of such a nature but it may by ourselves be restored to a good state by one brave action, I have proposed to myself both to give you some encouragement and at the same time some information, that you may still continue in your fortitude. I will then, in the first place, prove to you that this war is a just one on our side, and a war of necessity owing to the outrages of our adversaries, for if you be once satisfied of this, it will be the greatest cause of zeal in you, after which I shall further prove that the misfortunes we are in are of no great consequence, and that we have the greatest reason to hope for victory. I shall begin with the first, and appeal to yourselves as witnesses of what I say. You are not ignorant certainly of the lawlessness of the Arabians, who are as treacherous to all other men, as barbarians wholly without conception of God are likely to be. They have mostly come into conflict with us from covetousness and envy, and they have attacked us suddenly, when we were in disorder. And what need is there for me to give many proofs of such being their procedure ? But when they were in danger of losing their independence, and of being slaves to Cleopatra, who but we freed them from that fear ? For it was the friendship I had with Antony, and the kind disposition he

was in towards us, that was the reason that even these Arabians were not utterly undone, Antony being unwilling to undertake anything which might be suspected by us. And when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him many presents of my own, I might obtain security for both nations, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to this tribute; and this they have defrauded us of. And yet it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxed, but even if it had been, yet ought we not to pay tribute for those Arabians, whom we ourselves preserved; nor is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great effusion and sense of our kindness, that it is owing to us that they retain their independence, should injure us, and deprive us of what is our due, and that while we are not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observance of covenants takes place even among the bitterest enemies, and among friends is absolutely necessary, it is not observed among these men, who think gain to be the best of all things, let it be by any means whatever, and that injustice is no harm, if they can but get money by it. Is it therefore a question with you, whether the unjust are to be punished or not, when God wills this, and commands us ever to hate injuries and injustice, and that when people are pursuing a not only just but necessary war? For these Arabians have done what both the Greeks and barbarians own to be most lawless, for they have beheaded our ambassadors, though the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred and inviolable, and for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is able to reconcile enemies to one another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right? And when such have been their actions, how is it possible they can enjoy a tranquil life, or be successful in war? In my

opinion it is impossible. But perhaps some one will say, that what is holy and righteous is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself, and where God is, there are both numbers and courage. And to examine our own circumstances a little, we were conquerors in the first battle, and when we fought again, they were not able to oppose us, but ran away, and could not endure our attack and courage; but when we had conquered them, then came Athenion and made war against us without declaring it. Pray, is this an instance of their manhood, or a second instance of their wickedness and treachery? Why are we, therefore, of less courage, on account of what ought to inspire us with stronger hopes? and why are we terrified at those who, when they fight fairly, are continually beaten, and when they seem to be conquerors, gain the victory unfairly? And if any one should deem them to be men of real courage, will he not be excited by that very consideration to do his utmost against them? for true valour is not shown in fighting against weak persons, but in being able to overcome the strongest. But if the distresses we are ourselves now suffering from, and the miseries that have come from the earthquake dismay any one, let him consider in the first place, that this very thing will deceive the Arabians, who will think that what has befallen us is greater than it really is, and next that it is not right that the same thing that emboldens them should discourage us. For these men, you see, do not derive their courage from any advantage of their own, but from their hope, as to us, that we are quite cast down by our misfortunes; but if we boldly march against them, we shall soon abate their insolent self-conceit, and shall gain this by attacking them, that they will not be so valiant when we come to the battle. For our distresses are not so great, nor is what has happened an indication of the anger of God against us, as some imagine, for such things are accidental, and adversities that come in the usual course of things: and even if it happened by the will of God it is clear that it is now over by his will also, and that he is satisfied with what has

already happened, for had he been willing to afflict us still more thereby, he would not have changed his mind so soon. And as for the war we are engaged in, he has himself shown that he is willing it should go on, and that he knows it to be a just war ; for while some of the people in the country perished by the earthquake, all you who were in arms suffered nothing, but were all preserved alive : whereby God makes it plain that if you had all been in the army, with your children and wives, you would not have undergone anything that would have much hurt you. Consider these things, and, what is more than all the rest, that you have God at all times for your protector, and go out with a just bravery against these men, who in friendship are false, in their battles perfidious, towards ambassadors impious, and always inferior to you in valour."

§ 4. When the Jews heard this speech, they were much cheered in their minds, and more disposed to fight than before. So Herod, when he had offered the sacrifices appointed by the law, made haste, and took and led his men against the Arabians ; and with a view to that, crossed over the Jordan, and pitched his camp near the enemy. He also thought it well to seize upon a certain fortress that lay between the two armies, hoping it would be for his advantage, and would the sooner pull on a battle, and if the battle had to be postponed, he should by it have his camp protected. And as the Arabians had the same intentions upon that place, a contest arose about it : at first they were but skirmishes, after which more soldiers came up, and it proved a sort of fight, and several fell on both sides, till those on the Arabian side were beaten and retreated. This was no small encouragement to the Jews immediately ; and when Herod observed that the enemies' army was disposed to anything rather than to come to a general engagement, he ventured boldly to attack their earthworks and demolish them, so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them ; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least vigour or hope of victory. Yet did they fight hand to hand, because they were more in number than the Jews, and because they were in such a strait that they were obliged to come on boldly : so

a terrible battle ensued, wherein not a few fell on each side. However, at last the Arabians were routed and fled ; and so great a slaughter was made on their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude, and by the great rush of people in disorder, and fell under the weight of their own armour. So five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within their entrenched camp, but had no firm hope of safety, because of their want of necessaries, and especially want of water. The Jews pursued them, but could not get in with them into their entrenched camp, but invested it, and prevented the entrance of any assistance to them, and also their coming out that desired.

§ 5. When the Arabians were in these circumstances, they sent ambassadors to Herod, first to propose terms of accommodation, and afterwards to offer him (so pressing was their thirst) to undergo whatever he pleased, if he would free them from their present distress. But he would hear of no ambassadors, or ransom, or any moderate terms whatever, being very desirous of revenge for their lawless conduct to his nation. So they were necessitated by other things, and particularly by their thirst, to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives ; and in five days four thousand were taken prisoners so, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight it out with them, choosing rather, if it so must be, to die so, than to perish ingloriously by little and little. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could no way sustain the fight, being too weak both in mind and body, and having no room to fight gloriously, so they thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive ; accordingly on the first onset there fell about seven thousand of them. After this stroke they lost all the courage they had before, and were amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his calamities ; and thenceforward they yielded, and made him ruler of their nation ; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so seasonable a success, and returned home, having won prestige from this valiant exploit.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hastened away to Augustus, and obtained the Kingdom from him also ; and how, a little time afterwards, he entertained Augustus in a most honourable manner.*

## § 1.

HEROD'S other affairs were now very prosperous, and he was not open to attack on any side, yet did there come upon him a danger that might hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle off Actium by Augustus. For at that time both Herod's enemies and friends thought his fortunes desperate, for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had shown so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired and had no hopes of his escape, and as for his enemies, they all outwardly appeared to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad at it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal rank left but Hyrcanus, and therefore he thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer ; for if he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of a man, who was more worthy of the kingdom than himself, to make any attempt against him at such a juncture of affairs ; and if he himself should be put to death by Augustus, his envy prompted him to slay the only man that would be king after him.

§ 2. While Herod had these things in view, an opportunity was afforded him by Hyrcanus' family. Hyrcanus himself was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with public affairs, nor to concern himself with innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what she afforded him. But Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of contention, and was exceedingly desirous of change, and urged her father not to bear for ever Herod's injurious

treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and asked him to write about the matters to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, and to ask him to receive them and protect them; for if, after their departure, Herod's affairs proved to be as it would likely they would be because of Augustus' enmity to him, they would then be the only persons that could take over the kingdom, both on account of their royal blood, and the good will of the multitude to them. When she urged this, Hyrcanus rejected her suit, but as she was a very woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about it, and about Herod's treacherous designs against them, she at last prevailed on him to intrust Dositheus (one of his friends) with a letter, wherein it was arranged that the Arabian governor should send him some horsemen, who should take and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites,<sup>1</sup> which is three hundred furlongs from the bounds of Jerusalem. And he trusted Dositheus with this letter, because he paid court to him and Alexandra, and had no small reasons to bear ill-will to Herod: for he was a kinsman of Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that had been formerly slain at Tyre by Antony. However, these motives could not induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus faithfully in this affair, for he gave Herod the letter, preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he might have from him. And he took his kindness in good part, and bade him, besides doing what he had already done, to go on serving him, by folding up the letter and sealing it again, and delivering it to Malchus, and then bringing back his letter in answer to it; for it was very important for him to know Malchus' intentions also. And as Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back for answer, that he would receive Hyrcanus and all his retinue, and also all the Jews that were of his party: and that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them on their journey, and that he should be in no want of anything he should desire. Now, as soon as Herod had re-

<sup>1</sup> The Dead Sea.

ceived this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the agreement he had made with Malchus ; and, when he denied it, he showed his letter to the sanhedrim, and had Hyrcanus put to death.

§ 3. We give the reader this account, because it is that contained in the commentaries of king Herod. But other historians do not agree with this, for they think that Herod did not find, but rather made this an opportunity for thus putting Hyrcanus to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him. For they thus write ; that Herod and he were once at a supper-party, and that Herod had given no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased with him,] but put this question to Hyrcanus, whether he had received any letters from Malchus ? and when he answered, that he had received letters, but only letters of civility, and when he asked further, whether he had not received any present from him ? and when he replied, that he had received only four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him ; they say that Herod charged this upon him as proof of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be strangled. And in order to prove that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to his end, they recount how mild his temper was, and how even in his youth he had never given any signs of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to be king, for even then he committed the management of most public affairs to Antipater ; and that now he was above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's throne was in a secure state. He had also crossed the Euphrates, and left those who greatly honoured him beyond that river, to be entirely in Herod's power. So it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprise anything by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, so they argue that the whole affair was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

§ 4. Thus did Hyrcanus end his life, after having undergone various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime. For he was made high priest of the Jewish nation in the beginning of the reign of his mother Alexandra, who held the government nine years ; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three

months, he was ejected from it by his brother Aristobulus. He was afterwards restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honours from him, which he enjoyed forty years; but when he was again deprived by Antigonus, and mutilated in his body, he was made a captive by the Parthians, and thence returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectation, but he still battled with many misfortunes through the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as I have related already, he came to a bad end in his old age. He appears to have been a man of a mild and moderate disposition in all things, and to have suffered the administration of affairs to be generally done by others under him. He was averse to business, nor had he shrewdness enough to govern a kingdom: and both Antipater and Herod came to their greatness because of his mildness, and at last he met with such an end from them as was not agreeable either to justice or piety.

§ 5. Now Herod, as soon as he had put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Augustus; and because he could not have any hopes of favour from him, on account of the friendship he had had for Antony, he felt suspicious about Alexandra, lest she should avail herself of this opportunity to bring the multitude to revolt, and introduce rebellion into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of everything to his brother Pheroras (placing his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome,] and the whole family, at Masada<sup>1</sup>), and charged him, if he should hear any bad news about him, to seize the government. As to Mariamne his wife (because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister and mother, which made it impossible for them to live together), he placed her at Alexandrium<sup>2</sup> with her mother Alexandra, and left his treasurer Joseph, and Sohemus of Ituræa,<sup>3</sup> to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left to guard the women under pretext of paying them due respect. They also had it in charge,

<sup>1</sup> *Sebbeh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kefr Istúna.*

<sup>3</sup> The present district of *Jedûr*, extending from Mount Hermon towards the *Lejah*.

if they should hear any mischief had befallen Herod, to kill them both, and as far as they were able to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

§ 6. When he had given them this charge he set out post haste to Rhodes to meet Augustus, and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else that marked his rank. And when, upon his meeting Augustus, he desired that he would let him speak to him, he therein exhibited much more the nobility of his great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor did he offer any petition as if he were an offender, but gave an account of what he had done with impunity. He made the following speech to Augustus. He said that he had had the greatest friendship for Antony, and done everything he could that he might be master of the world, that he was not indeed in the army with him, because the Arabians had diverted him, but that he had sent him both money and corn, which was but too little in comparison of what he ought to have done for him. "For," (he added) "if a man owns himself to be another's friend, and knows him to be a benefactor, he ought to hazard everything, to use every faculty of his soul, every member of his body, and all the wealth he has, for him, in which I confess I have been too deficient. However, I am conscious to myself that so far I have done right, in that I did not desert him after his defeat at Actium; nor upon the evident change of his fortunes did I transfer my hopes from him to another, but preserved myself, though not as a valuable fellow-soldier, yet certainly as a faithful counsellor to Antony, when I suggested to him that the only way that he had to save himself, and not to lose all his authority, was to put Cleopatra to death; for when she was once dead, there would have been room for him to retain his authority, and I recommended him rather to bring thee to make a composition with him, than to continue at enmity with thee any longer. None of which advice would he attend to, but preferred his own rash resolution, which has happened unprofitably for him, but profitably for thee. Now therefore, in case thou determinest about me, and my zeal in serving Antony, according to thy anger at him, I cannot deny what I have

done, nor will I disown, and that publicly too, that I had a great kindness for him; but if thou wilt put him out of the case, and only examine how I behaved myself to my benefactors in general, and what sort of friend I am, thou wilt find by experience that I shall do and be the same to thyself. For it is but changing the names, and the firmness of friendship that I shall bear to thee will not be disapproved by thee."

§ 7. By this speech, and by his behaviour, which showed Augustus the openness of his mind, he greatly gained upon him, as he was himself of a generous and noble character, insomuch that those very actions, which were the foundation of the accusation against him, won him Augustus' favour. Accordingly, he restored him his diadem again, and exhorted him to show himself as great a friend to him as he had been to Antony, and held him in great esteem. Moreover he added that Quintus Didius had written to him, that Herod had very readily assisted him in the affair of the gladiators. So when he had obtained such a kind reception, and had, beyond all his hopes, got his crown more entirely and firmly settled upon him than ever by Augustus' gift, as well as by the decree of the Romans, which Augustus took care to procure for his greater security, he escorted Augustus on his way to Egypt, and made presents even beyond his means to both him and his friends, and in general behaved himself with great magnanimity. He also begged that Augustus would not put to death one Alexander, who had been a companion of Antony's; but Augustus had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that petition. And he returned to Judæa again with greater honour and security than ever, and dismayed those that had expected the contrary, acquiring from his very dangers still greater splendour than before owing to the favour of God to him. And he prepared at once for the reception of Augustus, as he was going from Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of Augustus' most cordial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Augustus, and had a hundred and fifty chambers, well appointed in all respects

in a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of him and his friends. He also provided them with what they would want especially as they passed over the desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of. He also presented Augustus with eight hundred talents, and made all think that he was assisting them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford. Thus he more and more demonstrated to Augustus the firmness of his friendship, and his readiness to assist him ; and what was the greatest advantage to him was that his liberality came at a seasonable time also. And when they returned back from Egypt, his assistance was no way inferior to the good offices he had formerly done.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Herod slew Sohemus, and Mariamne, and afterwards Alexandra, and Costobarus, and his most intimate Friends, and at last the Sons of Babas also.*

### § 1.

HOWEVER, when he returned to his kingdom again, he found his house all in disorder, and his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra very displeased. For, as they supposed (as was natural enough), that they were not put into that fortress [Alexandrium] for the security of their persons, but as into a garrison for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over anything, either of others or of their own, they were very displeased ; and Mariamne supposing that the king's love to her was rather pretended, as advantageous to himself, than real, looked upon it as feigned. She was also grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself, and recollecting the commands he had formerly given to Joseph, so that she began to pay court to her keepers, and especially to Sohemus, being well apprized how all was in his power. And at first Sohemus was faithful to Herod, and neglected none of the things he had en-

trusted to him ; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections, he was by degrees overcome, and at last disclosed to them all the king's injunctions, chiefly because he did not expect that Herod would come back with the same authority he had before ; so that he thought he would escape any danger from him, and would not a little gratify the women, who were not likely to lose their present rank, and so would be able to make him abundant recompense, since they would either reign themselves, or be very near to him that did reign. He had a further ground of hope also, in that, though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's fondness for Mariamne was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Sohemus to disclose the injunctions that had been given him. And Mariamne was greatly displeased to hear that there was no end of the dangers she was in from Herod, and was very vexed at it, and wished he might obtain no favours [from Augustus,] and esteemed it almost unbearable to live with him any longer. Indeed she afterwards showed this very clearly, not concealing her resentment.

§ 2. And now Herod sailed home, in great joy at the unexpected good success he had had, and went first of all, as was likely, to his wife, and told her the good news before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy there had been between them, and embraced her. But it so happened, as he told her of the good success he had had, that she was so far from rejoicing at it, that she was rather sorry for it ; nor was she able to conceal her resentment, but, thinking of her dignity and the nobility of her birth, on his embracing her she gave a groan, and showed evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success, and that till Herod was disturbed no longer by suspicion but proof evident of her dislike to him. It made him almost mad to see that this unreasonable hatred of his wife to him was not concealed, and he took it so ill, and was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in one mind, but sometimes was angry at her, and sometimes reconciled to her ; and by

always changing from one passion to another, he was in great discomfort. And thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punishment on her for her contemptuous behaviour to him ; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he had not the heart to get rid of her. In short, though he would gladly have had her punished, yet was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by putting her to death, bring unawares a heavier punishment upon himself.

§ 3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived that he was in this state of mind with regard to Mariamne, they thought they had now got an excellent opportunity to satisfy their hatred against her, so they provoked Herod to wrath by telling him such long stories and calumnies about her, as might at once excite both his hatred and jealousy. Now, though he willingly enough heard their words, yet he had not courage enough to do anything to her, as if he believed them. But still he became more ill-disposed to her, and their evil passions were more and more inflamed on both sides, as she did not hide her dislike to him, and he turned his love for her into wrath against her. But when he was just on the eve of putting matters past all remedy, he heard the news that Antony and Cleopatra were both dead, and that Augustus was victor in the war, and had conquered Egypt, whereupon he made haste to go and meet him, and left the affairs of his family *statu quo*. However, Mariamne recommended Sohemus to him, as he was setting out on his journey, and confessed that she owed him thanks for the care he had taken of her, and asked of the king a governorship for him, and accordingly that honour was bestowed upon him. Now, when Herod was come into Egypt, he enjoyed great freedom with Augustus, as already a friend of his, and received very great favours from him ; for he made him a present of those four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's body-guards, and restored to him again that territory which had by her been taken away from him. He also added to his kingdom Gadara<sup>1</sup> and Hippos<sup>2</sup> and Samaria<sup>3</sup> ; and besides these, the

<sup>1</sup> *Umm Keis.*

<sup>2</sup> *Susiyeh.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sebastieh.*

maritime cities of Gaza,<sup>1</sup> Anthedon,<sup>2</sup> Joppa,<sup>3</sup> and Strato's Tower.<sup>4</sup>

§ 4. Upon these new acquisitions, Herod grew more magnificent, and escorted Augustus as far as Antioch; but upon return, in proportion as his prosperity was augmented by the external additions that had been made to his kingdom, so much the greater were the distresses that came upon him in his own family, and chiefly in the affair of his marriage, wherein he formerly appeared to have been most fortunate. For the passion he had for Mariamne was no way inferior to such passions as are famous in history, and that on very good grounds; while as for her, she was in other respects chaste and faithful to him; but she had somewhat of the woman in her, and was haughty by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to be her slave. She did not also consider (as would have been well) that she lived under a monarchy, and was at another's disposal, and so she would behave in a haughty manner to him, while he usually concealed his vexation, and bore her taunts with moderation and good temper. She would also jeer at his mother and sister openly, and speak ill of them on account of the meanness of their birth, so that there was before this a disagreement and deadly hatred among the women, and it was now come to greater calumnies than formerly. And these suspicions increased, and lasted a whole year after Herod returned from Augustus. And this hatred, which had been kept under somewhat for a great while, burst out all at once upon the following occasion. As the king one day about noon was laid down on his bed to rest, he called for Mariamne out of the great affection he always had for her. She came to him accordingly, but would not lie with him though he was very desirous of her company, but showed her contempt of him; and also twitted him with having caused her father and brother to be slain.<sup>5</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> *Ghuzzeh.*

<sup>2</sup> Agrippias. Comp. Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3; xiv. 5, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaffa.*

<sup>4</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>5</sup> Whereas Mariamne is here represented as reproaching Herod with the murder of her father [Alexander] as well as her brother [Aristobulus] while it was her grandfather Hyrcanus, and not her father

as he took this contemptuous treatment very unkindly, and was inclined to use violence to her, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily put out, sent to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bade him tell the king that Mariamne had asked him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appeared to be troubled, and asked what that love potion was, he was to tell the king that she had the potion, and that he was asked only to supply it, but in case he did not appear to be much concerned about this potion, he was to let the matter drop, for no harm would come to him. When she had given him these instructions, she then sent him in to say this. So he went in with a plausible and earnest manner, and said that Mariamne had given him presents, and had urged him to give the king a love potion. And when this greatly moved the king, he said, that this love potion was a composition she had given him, whose properties he did not know, which was the reason of his resolving to give him this information, as the safest course he could take, both for himself and for the king. When Herod heard this, being prejudiced against Mariamne before, his indignation grew more violent, and he ordered the eunuch of Mariamne's who was most faithful to her to be brought to torture about this potion, well knowing that it was not possible that anything great or small could be done without him. And when this man was in the utmost agony he could say nothing concerning the matter he was tortured about, but that Mariamne's hatred against Herod was occasioned by something that Sohemus had told her. Now, while he was still saying this, Herod cried out aloud, and said that Sohemus, who had been at all other times most faithful to him and to his throne, would not have disclosed the injunctions he had given him, unless he had been unduly intimate with Mariamne. So he gave orders that Sohemus should be arrested and put to death immediately, but he put his wife on her trial, and got together those

Alexander, whom he caused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, chap. 6, § 2,) we must either take Zonara's reading, which is here grandfather rightly, or else we must, as before, chap. 1, § 1, allow a slip of Josephus' pen or memory in the place before us.—W.

who were most faithful to him, and made a formal accusation against her as to this love potion and composition, which had been laid to her charge calumniously. And he was intemperate in his words, and was in too great a passion for judging right about the matter; and so, when the court was at last satisfied that he was so resolved, they passed sentence of death upon her: but when sentence had been passed upon her, it was suggested by himself, and by some others of the court, that she should not be thus hastily put to death, but be imprisoned in one of the fortresses belonging to the kingdom. But Salome and her party laboured hard to have the poor woman put to death, and they prevailed upon the king to do so, urging that the multitude would be riotous if she were suffered to live. And so Mariamne was led out to execution.

§ 5. When Alexandra saw how things went, and that there was small hope that she herself would escape the like treatment from Herod, she changed her behaviour to quite the reverse of her former boldness, and that in a very unseemly manner. For wishing to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she jumped up, and reproached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out, that she had been peevish and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her for such insolent behaviour, for she had not made a proper return to him who had been their common benefactor. And when she had for some time acted in this hypocritical manner, and even gone so far as to tear her hair, this unseemly dissembling, as was to be expected, was greatly condemned by the rest of the spectators, as was manifested still more by the poor woman who was to suffer; for she spoke to her not a single word, nor did she seem disturbed or to regard her unfriendliness, yet did she, in her greatness of soul, discover her concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming. As for herself, she went to her death with unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing colour, and so evidently showed the nobility of her descent to the spectators even in the last moments of her life.

§ 6. And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent

character both for chastity and greatness of soul ; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contentiousness in her nature, but she surpassed all the women of her time more than can be said in the beauty of her body and charm of her society, which was the principal reason why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done ; for as she was most indulgently used by the king, from his fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her she took too excessive liberty. But what most distressed her was what Herod had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak out of all they had suffered at his hands, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister (till they became enemies to her), and also the king himself, on whom alone she relied to escape extreme punishment.

§ 7. But when she was once dead, the king's passion for her was kindled more than before, he being such as I have already described. For his love to her was not of a calm nature, nor such as we usually meet with in other husbands, for at its commencement it was enthusiastic, nor was it weakened by long cohabitation and free intercourse. And now his love for Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar way as looked like divine vengeance upon him for taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament for her in a most unseemly manner. Moreover, he bethought him of everything he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and company for that purpose, but nothing would suffice ; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so overcome by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could hear. And when he was in this way, there arose a pestilential disease, that carried off many of the people, and his most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought on them by the anger of God, for the injustice that had been done to Mariamne. This circumstance affected the king still more, till at length he went into retirement, and, under a pretence of going a hunting, bitterly mourned, and had not borne his grief

there many days before he fell into a most dangerous illness. He had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and the remedies that were used did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his case, and so at last his life was despaired of. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because his diet could be no other than what his disease inclined him to, desired him to take whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery to the power of that diet, and left him to fortune. And thus was he ill at Samaria, now called Sebaste.<sup>1</sup>

§ 8. Now Alexandra lived at Jerusalem, and being informed of the condition Herod was in, endeavoured to get possession of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; for whoever could get them into their hands had the whole nation ever in their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer the sacrifices; and to think of leaving off those sacrifices is to all Jews plainly impossible, for they are more ready to lose their lives than to leave off the divine worship which they have been wont to pay to God. So Alexandra told those that had the keeping of those strongholds, that they ought to deliver up the same to her and to Herod's sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government; and if he recovered none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not taken by them at all in good part; and as they had been in former times faithful [to Herod], they resolved to continue so more than ever, not only because they hated Alexandra, but also because they thought it a sort of impiety to despair of Herod's recovery while he was yet alive. For they had been his old friends, and one of them, whose name was Achiabus, was his cousin. They therefore sent messengers to acquaint Herod with Alexandra's design; and he without any delay gave orders to have her put to death. And it was only with difficulty, and after he

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.*

had endured great pain, that he got rid of this illness. He was still sorely afflicted both in mind and body, so that he was very morose, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his power. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, as Costobarus, and Lysimachus, and Gadias, who was also called Antipater, as also Dositheus, for the following reason.

§ 9. Costobarus was an Idumæan by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and his ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumæans esteem a god ; but after Hyrcanus had made a change in their polity, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law, Herod after he got the kingdom made Costobarus governor of Idumæa and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife, after putting to death Joseph, who had that government before, as I have related already. When Costobarus had got so highly advanced, it pleased him, being more than he had hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good fortune, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod his ruler commanded him, or that the Idumæans should adopt the Jewish customs, or be subject to the Jews. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumæans had been always under her progenitors, and for that reason it was but just that she should ask that country of Antony, and added that he himself was ready to transfer his friendship to her. This he did, not because he was better pleased to be under Cleopatra's government, but because he thought that, upon the diminution of Herod's power, it would not be difficult for him to obtain himself the entire rule over the Idumæans, and somewhat more also ; for he raised his hopes still higher, as having no small advantages both from his birth and those riches which he had got by his constant attention to filthy lucre, and it was no small matter that he aimed at. So Cleopatra asked this country of Antony, but did not get it. An account of this was brought to Herod, who was thereupon inclined to kill Costobarus, but upon the entreaties of his sister and mother he let him go, and vouchsafed to pardon him, though he was suspicious of him ever afterwards for this attempt of his.

§ 10. But some time afterwards, when Salome happened

to be at variance with Costobarus, she sent him at once a bill of divorce,<sup>1</sup> and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws. For with us it is lawful for a husband to do so, but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot herself marry another, unless her former husband put her away. However, Salome chose to follow not the law of her country, but the law of her own will, and so renounced her wedlock, and told her brother Herod that she left her husband out of good-will to him, because she had found out that Costobarus and Antipater and Lysimachus and Dositheus were raising a rebellion against him : as an evidence whereof she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, who had been preserved alive by him twelve years, as proved to be the case. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of this, he was greatly surprised at it, and the more so because the affair appeared incredible to him. For Herod had formerly taken great pains to bring those sons of Babas to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time between. Now, the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them was because, when Antigonus was king, Herod with his army besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries that the besieged endured were so harassing, that many invited Herod into the city, and already placed their hopes on him. But the sons of Babas, who occupied a high position and had much influence with the multitude, were faithful to Antigonus, and were always calumniating Herod, and encouraging the people to preserve the kingdom to the royal family who held it by inheritance. Now they acted thus for their own advantage, as they thought; but when the city was taken, and

<sup>1</sup> Here is a plain example of a Jewish lady giving a bill of divorce to her husband, though in the days of Josephus it was not esteemed lawful for a woman so to do. See alike among the Parthians, *Antiq.* xviii. 9, § 6. However, the Christian law, when it allowed divorce for adultery, *Matt.* v. 32, allowed the innocent wife to divorce her guilty husband, as well as the innocent husband to divorce his guilty wife, as we learn from the shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* iv., and from the second *Apology* of Justin Martyr, where a persecution was brought upon the Christians upon such a divorce ; and I think the Roman laws permitted it at that time, as well as the laws of Christianity.—W.

Herod had become master of the position, and Costobarus was appointed to hinder men from passing out at the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobarus, knowing that the sons of Babas were held in respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in any changes of government afterwards, took them out of the way, and concealed them on his own estate. And when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of the matter, and so allayed his suspicions. Moreover after that, when the king had publicly proposed a reward for their discovery, and devised all sorts of methods for searching out the matter, he would not confess, but being persuaded that, owing to his having at first denied it, he would not escape unpunished, if the men were found, he was forced to keep them secret, not only from his goodwill to them, but from necessity. But when the king knew the facts of the case from his sister's information, he sent men to the places where he had intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, so that now there were none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such high position as could interfere with what he did against the Jewish laws.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How ten of the Citizens [of Jerusalem] made a Conspiracy against Herod, because of the foreign Practices he had introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country. Concerning the building of Sebaste and Cœsarea, and other Erections of Herod.*

## § 1.

THIS was why Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and corrupted our ancient polity, which ought to have been preserved inviolable, by the intro-

duction of foreign practices; by which we became guilty of great wickedness afterwards, as those religious observances which used to lead the multitude to piety were now neglected. For, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Augustus, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, as also a very great amphitheatre in the plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish notions; for we have had no such shows handed down to us by tradition as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did Herod celebrate these games every five years in the most splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring people, and called men together out of all the nation. Wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prizes in such games, were invited out of all the land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory there to be gained. So the principal persons that were most renowned for these sorts of exercises were got together, for there were very great rewards proposed for victory, not only to those who performed gymnastic exercises, but also to those who were professional musicians, and who were called Thymelici; indeed Herod spared no pains to induce all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to the contest. He also proposed no small rewards for those who contended for the prizes in chariots drawn by four horses, or by a pair, or with race-horses. He also imitated everything, though ever so costly or magnificent, that was practised by other nations, being ambitious to give public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions also of the great actions of Augustus, and trophies of the nations which he had got in his wars, all made of the purest gold and silver, were all round the theatre. Nor was there anything that could conduce to display, whether precious garments or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He also got together a great quantity of wild beasts, and of lions in very great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were trained either to fight one with another, or men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. And truly foreigners were greatly

surprised and delighted at the vast expense of the shows, and at the great danger of the spectacles, but to the Jews it was a palpable breaking up of those customs for which they had so great a veneration. It appeared also no better than barefaced impiety to throw men to wild beasts, to afford delight to the spectators, and it appeared no less impiety to change their own laws for such foreign practices. But above all the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews, for as they imagined them to be images inclosed in the armour that hung round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honour to such things.

§ 2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with their emotion, and as he thought it unseasonable to use violence, he tried to conciliate and console some of them, and to free them from their religious scruples, but he could not satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, from their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they might bear all the rest, yet would they never bear images of men in their city (meaning the trophies), because this was against the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them so put out, and that they would not easily change their sentiments unless they received satisfaction on this point, he called to him the most eminent men among them, and brought them to the theatre, and showed them the trophies, and asked them what sort of things they took these trophies to be? And when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he ordered that they should be stripped of the ornaments which were about them, and showed them the bare wood; which wood, now without any ornament, became matter of great sport and laughter to them, as indeed they had always before had the ornaments of images in derision.

§ 3. When Herod had thus baffled the multitude, and dissipated the vehemence of passion under which they laboured, most of the people were disposed to change their ideas, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but some of them still continued to be offended with him for his introduction of new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin

of very great mischiefs to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to run any risk than to seem as if they took no notice of Herod's action in changing their polity, and violently introducing such customs as they had never been used to before; for he was indeed to appearance a king, but in reality one that showed himself an enemy to their whole nation. So ten men that were citizens conspired together against him, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments [for the purpose of killing Herod]. Now there was a certain blind man among these conspirators, who was moved by indignation in consequence of what he heard had been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if they should come to any harm, insomuch that he became a very great encouragement to the conspirators.

§ 4. When they had taken their resolution, they went by common consent into the theatre, hoping that Herod himself would not escape them, as they would fall upon him so unexpectedly, and supposing that, if they missed him, they should anyhow kill a great many of those who were about him; and feeling they would be satisfied, even though they should die for it, if they brought home to the king what injuries he had done to the multitude. These conspirators, therefore, being thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great zeal. But there was one of Herod's spies, who were appointed to fish out and inform him of any conspiracies that were made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to enter the theatre. And when he reflected on the hatred which he knew most of the people bore him, and on the disturbances that arose upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not improbable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their names; and as, by his guards falling upon them, they were caught in the very act, and knew they could not escape, they prepared themselves for their deaths with all the decency they could, and so as not to recede at all from their resolute behaviour. For they showed no shame at

their act, nor did they deny it, but when they were seized, they showed their daggers, and professed that their conspiracy was a holy and pious action, that what they intended to do was not for gain, or to indulge their passions, but rather for those common customs of their country, which all Jews were obliged to observe or to die for them. This is what these men boldly said, in their undaunted courage evinced in this conspiracy, as they were led away to execution by the king's guards that surrounded them, and patiently underwent all the torments inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it long before the spy who had informed against them was seized on by some of the people, from the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb by limb, and given to the dogs. This action was seen by many of the citizens, but not one of them would discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict and severe search for them, certain women that were tortured confessed what they had seen done; and the authors of the act were so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for their rash attempt. But the obstinacy of the people, and the undaunted constancy they showed in the defence of their laws, made Herod afraid unless he strengthened himself in a more secure manner. So he resolved to hem in the multitude on all sides, lest faction should end in open rebellion.

§ 5. When therefore he had fortified the city by the palace in which he lived, and the temple by a strong fortress rebuilt by himself, called Antonia,<sup>1</sup> he contrived to make Samaria also a *point d'appui* for himself against all the people, and called it Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> supposing that it would overawe the country as much as the other. So he fortified the place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, so as to be useful to him both in keeping the country and city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation, which was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him called Cæsarea.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he chose out some

<sup>1</sup> The castle of Antonia was on the north side of the Temple, and is supposed to have partly occupied the site on which the Turkish Barracks stand at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebustieh.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cæsarea Palæstina, Kaisariyeh.*

picked cavalry to wait upon him in the great plain, and built [for them] a place in Galilee called Gaba,<sup>1</sup> and Esebonitis in Peræa.<sup>2</sup> And these were the places which he particularly built, as he was always inventing something fresh for his own security, and surrounding the whole nation with garrisons, that they might by no means get out of his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions he might know of it, as some of his spies would be upon them from the neighbourhood, and would both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he started fortifying Samaria, he took care to convey there many of those that had assisted him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the others. This he did partly from an ambitious desire of building a temple, and making the city more eminent than it had been before, but chiefly that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parcelled out the adjacent country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a prosperous condition on their first coming to inhabit it. He also surrounded the city with a wall of great strength, and availed himself of the steepness of the place to make its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but it was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in compass. And within in about the middle of it he built a sacred enclosure, a furlong and a half in circumference, and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and erected a temple in it, which was most notable both on account of its size and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also: and seeing what was necessary to provide for his own safety, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the most part a citadel; and as to elegance of building, that was

<sup>1</sup> Now *Jebáta*. See *Life*, § 24; *Jewish War*, iii. 3, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Heshbon, now *Hesbán*; near the border between Reuben and Gad.

looked after also, that he might leave a memorial of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Famine that happened in Judæa and Syria ; and how Herod, after he had married another Wife, rebuilt Cœsarea, and other Greek Cities.*

## § 1.

NOW in this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country, whether from the anger of God, or whether this evil recurs naturally in certain periods of time. For in the first place there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same quantity of fruits that it usually produced ; and next to this the change of food which the want of corn occasioned produced diseases in the bodies of men, and a pestilence prevailed, one misery following hard upon the back of another. And the circumstance that they were destitute both of methods of cure and of food, made the pestilence, which began in a violent manner, the more intense, and the death of men in such a manner deprived those that survived of all their courage, because they had no way to provide remedies sufficient to meet the distress they were in. As therefore the fruits of that year were spoiled, and whatever they had laid up beforehand was expended, there was no hope of relief remaining, but the evil, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and not only in that year, when they had nothing for themselves left at the end of it, but the seed they had sown perished also, because of the ground not yielding its fruits in the second year. The distress they were in made them also out of necessity eat many things that were not usually eaten ; nor was the king himself free from this distress any more than other men, as he was deprived of the tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and had already

expended what money he had in his liberality to those whose cities he had built. Nor had he any people that were worthy of his assistance, for this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects, for it is a constant rule that misfortunes are laid to the account of those that govern.

§ 2. Under these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some relief; which was a difficult matter, as their neighbours had no food to sell them, as they had suffered as much themselves, and their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it well not to leave off by any means his endeavours to assist his people; so he cut off the rich furniture both of silver and gold that was in his palace, nor did he spare the finest vessels he had, or those that had been made with the most elaborate skill of the artificers, but sent the money to Petronius, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Augustus. And as not a few had already fled to him in their necessities, and as he was a particular friend of Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved, Petronius gave them first leave to have corn from Egypt, and assisted them every way both in purchasing and conveying it to Judæa, so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them help in this matter. And Herod took care the people should know that this help came from himself, and so not only changed the bad opinions of those that formerly hated him, but gave the greatest proof of his good-will to them and care of them. For, in the first place, to those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed their proportion of corn in the exactest manner, while for those many that were not able to provide food for themselves, either because of old age or any other infirmity, he made this provision for them, seeing that the bakers made their bread for them. He also took care that they should not be hurt by the dangers of winter, as they were in great want of clothing also, because of the utter destruction and loss of their flocks, so that they had no wool to make use of, nor anything else to cover themselves with. And when he had procured these things for his own subjects, he also attempted to provide necessaries for the

neighbouring cities, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned as much to his own advantage, this charitable assistance being afforded most seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. And when the harvest of the land was generally approaching, he sent no less than fifty thousand men, whom he had sustained, into the country; by which means he not only repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom with great generosity and diligence, but also very much lightened the afflictions of his neighbours, who were suffering from the same calamities. For there was nobody who had been in want, that was left destitute of a suitable assistance from him: nor were there either any peoples or cities or private persons, who had to make provision for multitudes and so were in want, who had recourse to him, without receiving what they stood in need of, insomuch, that it appeared upon computation, that the number of cors of wheat (now a cor is ten Attic medimni) that was given to foreigners amounted to ten thousand, and the number that was given in his own kingdom was about fourscore thousand. Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benevolence, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, that it wiped off that old hatred which his violation of some of their customs, during his reign, had procured him among all the nation, and this liberality of assistance in their greatest necessity was reckoned full requital. It also procured him great fame among foreigners, and it seems as if those calamities, that afflicted his kingdom to a degree plainly incredible, came in order to raise his glory, and to be to his great advantage. For the greatness of his liberality in those distresses, which he displayed beyond all expectation, did so change the disposition of the multitude towards him, that they were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him long ago by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities now showed him to be.

§ 3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred picked men of his body-guards as auxiliaries to Augustus, whom *Ælius Gallus* conducted to the Red Sea, and who were of great service to him there. And when his affairs

were in a good and flourishing condition again, he built himself a palace in the upper part of the city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold and precious stones and decorations, and built apartments so large that they could contain very many men, and had particular names given them according to their size, for one apartment was called Augustus', another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased. The occasion of this marriage was as follows. There was one Simon, a native of Jerusalem (the son of one Boethus, an Alexandrian), who was a priest of great note, and had a daughter who was esteemed the most beautiful woman of her time; and as the people of Jerusalem talked much about her, it happened that Herod was much affected first with what was said about her, and afterwards when he saw the damsel he was deeply smitten with her beauty, yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, believing, as was the truth, that if he did so he would be stigmatized for violence and tyranny, so he thought it best to take the damsel to wife. And as Simon was of a rank too low to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he followed his inclination in the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of his family, and making it more honourable. So he forthwith deprived Jesus, the son of Phabes, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and then married his daughter.

§ 4. When the wedding was over, he built another citadel in the place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his kingdom, when Antigonus was at the head of affairs. This citadel<sup>1</sup> is about threescore furlongs from Jerusalem. It is a place strong by nature, and fit for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a greater height by the hand of man, so that its circuit is like the shape of a woman's breast. It has circular towers at intervals, and a steep ascent up to it, composed of two hundred steps of polished stones. Within it are royal and very costly apartments, constructed both for

<sup>1</sup> The ruins are still to be seen on the summit and at the base of *Jebel Fureidis*, south of Jerusalem.

security and beauty. At the bottom of the hill there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water which is brought there from a great way off,<sup>1</sup> and at vast expense, for the place itself is destitute of water. The plain below is full of buildings, and not inferior to any city in size, having the hill above it as a citadel.

§ 5. And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had not the least suspicion that any troubles would arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was implacable in his punishments, as by the provident care he had showed towards them, in the most magnanimous manner, when they were in their distresses. Still he took care to have external security as a fortress against his subjects. For to the cities he was courteous and full of kindness, and cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent disposition, so that his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and all his affairs be every way more and more augmented. But that magnificent temper of his, and the court which he paid towards Augustus and the most powerful men of Rome, obliged him to transgress the customs of his nation, and to set aside many of their laws, both by building cities in an ambitious manner, and erecting temples; not in Judæa indeed (for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or representations of animals, like the Greeks), but he did thus in the country and cities out of our bounds. The apology which he made to the Jews for this was that all was done, not by his own inclination, but by command and order, to please Augustus and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had paying honour to the Romans, while yet he had himself in view entirely all the while, and indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his reign to posterity; whence

<sup>1</sup> The water was brought from the *Wády Úrtás*, in which are the 'Pools of Solomon.'

it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

§ 6. Now upon his observing a place near the sea, which was very well adapted for a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about planning a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great care all over it of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven sheltered from the waves of the sea, in size not less than the Piræus [at Athens,] and containing inside two stations for ships.<sup>1</sup> It was excellently constructed, which was the more remarkable from its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable for such a noble structure, but had to be brought to perfection by materials fetched from other places at very great expense. The city is situate in Phœnicia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa<sup>2</sup> and Dora,<sup>3</sup> which are smaller maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the fierce south winds that beat upon them,—which, rolling the sand that comes from the sea against the shore, do not give good anchorage for ships, but merchants are generally forced to ride at anchor out at sea. This inconvenience Herod endeavoured to rectify, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein great fleets might lie in safety; and this he effected by putting down huge stones of above fifty feet in length, and not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, twenty fathoms deep, and as some stones were less, so others were bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side was too hundred feet long, and half of it was opposed to the force of the waves, so as to keep them off (and so was called break-water), and the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers at intervals, the largest of which was called Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt; there was also in front

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of *Kaisariyeh* and of its ancient port are still very extensive; see "Memoirs of Western Palestine," ii. 15-28.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaffa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tanturah*.

of them a quay which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind for exercise. And the entrance or mouth of the port faced north, which wind brings the clearest sky. And the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you sail into the port, supported a round turret, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves ; while on the right hand stood two huge stones, each of them larger than the turret which was opposite them, which stood upright, and were joined together. And there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation in the middle, whereon was erected a temple of Cæsar,<sup>1</sup> visible a great way off to those who were sailing for that haven, which had in it two statues, one of Rome, the other of Cæsar.<sup>1</sup> The city itself was called Cæsarea, and was itself built of fine materials, and handsomely constructed ; nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had as much care bestowed on them as the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults carried things at regular distances to the haven and to the sea ; but one of them ran obliquely, and undergirt all the rest, that both the rain and sewage of the citizens were conveyed away with ease, and the sea itself at full tide entered the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone ; and on the south side of the harbour behind an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a sea view. This city was finished thus in twelve years ;<sup>2</sup> during which time the king did not fail both to go on with the work, and to pay the necessary expenses.

<sup>1</sup> Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> It is ten years in Antiq. xvi. 5, § 1.—W.

## CHAP. X.

*How Herod sent his Sons to Rome; also how he was accused by Zenodorus and the Gadarenes, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the Good-will of Augustus. Also concerning the Pharisees, the Essenes, and Manahem.*

## § 1.

WHEN Herod was engaged in these matters, and had already built Sebaste [Samaria], he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to visit Augustus. And they, when they got there, lodged at the house of Pollio,<sup>1</sup> who was very proud of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Augustus' own palace, for he received these sons of Herod with all kindness, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased: and moreover he bestowed on him Trachon,<sup>2</sup> and Batanæa,<sup>3</sup> and Auranitis,<sup>4</sup> which he gave him for the following reason. One Zenodorus had hired the house of Lysanias, and, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, he became a partner with the robbers that infested Trachon, and so got a larger income; for the inhabitants of that region lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damascenes, and Zenodorus did not restrain them, but shared himself in the booty. Now, as the neighbouring people were thereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria], and entreated him to write to Augustus about this wrong-doing of Zenodorus. When these matters were laid before Augustus, he wrote back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that so by his care the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> This Pollio, with whom Herod's sons lodged at Rome, was not Pollio the Pharisee, already mentioned by Josephus, chap. 1, § 1, and again presently after this, chap. 10, § 4, but Asinius Pollio, the Roman, as Spanheim here observes.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Now *el-Lejah*.

<sup>3</sup> The name is still retained in *Ard el-Bathanyeh*.

<sup>4</sup> *Haurán*. Trachon, Batanæa, and Auranitis were three of the four districts into which Bashan was divided.

countries might be no longer disturbed by these doings of the Trachonites. For it was no easy thing to restrain them, since this habit of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only some dens and caves in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get water, and laid up corn for themselves, and were able to make great resistance, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them. For the entrances of their caves were narrow, so that but one could go in at a time, and the places within were incredibly large and roomy; and the ground over their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain. And the rocks were altogether hard and difficult of access, unless any one followed the track of another, for these roads are not straight, but have many windings. And when those men were hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom was to prey one upon one another, so that no sort of wrong-doing came amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant of land from Augustus, and went into this country, he procured skilful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and gave peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

§ 2. Thereupon Zenodus was angry, first because his district was taken away from him, and next even still more because he envied Herod who had got it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned back again without success. Now Agrippa was [about this time] sent to govern in the name of Augustus the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, and Herod visited him when he was wintering at Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned to Judæa again. And some of the Gadarenes went to Agrippa, and accused Herod, but he sent them back bound to the king, without giving them a hearing. And the Arabians, who of old bore ill-will to Herod's sway, were excited, and now attempted to raise a rebellion in his dominions; and, as they thought, for a justifiable reason. For Zenodus, despairing already of success as to his own affairs, anticipated [his enemies] by

selling to those Arabians a part of his district, called Auranitis, for fifty talents; and as this was included in the grant of Augustus, they contested the point with Herod, as being unjustly deprived of what they had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempting force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were hostile to Herod in the constant hope of an insurrection, a thing which those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life most rejoice in. And although Herod had been a long time aware of this, yet did he not act with severity to them, but by reason tried to conciliate them, being unwilling to give any handle for tumults.

§ 3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Augustus came into Syria: at which time most of the inhabitants of Gadara<sup>1</sup> clamoured against Herod, as imperious in his orders, and tyrannical. These reproaches they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement and calumny of Zenodorus, who swore that he would never desert them till he had got them severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Augustus' jurisdiction. The Gadarenes were induced thereby, and raised no small outcry against Herod, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Agrippa to him were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm; for indeed he (if anyone) appeared inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting offences that were committed elsewhere. And as they accused Herod of violence and plunder and overthrowing of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However Augustus gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kindness to him, upon this uproar of the multitude; and indeed these things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further on the following days. For as the Gadarenes saw the bias of Augustus and of his assessors, and expected, as they had reason to do, that they would be delivered up to the king, some of them, in dread of the torments they

<sup>1</sup> *Umm Keis.*

might undergo, cut their own throats in the night, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and committed suicide ; which seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and fault they had been guilty of ; and thereupon Augustus without any further delay acquitted Herod of what he was accused of. Another fortunate event also befriended Herod at this time ; for Zenodorus' belly burst, and a great quantity of blood issued from him in his illness, and he departed this life at Antioch in Syria. And Augustus bestowed his district, which was no small one, upon Herod ; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha<sup>1</sup> and Paneas,<sup>2</sup> and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that nothing should be done without his approbation ; in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that whereas there were but two men that governed the Roman empire, first Augustus, and then Agrippa, who was Augustus' principal favourite, Augustus preferred no one to Herod after Agrippa ; and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod except Augustus. And when he had acquired such great influence, he begged of Augustus a tetrarchy<sup>3</sup> for his brother Pheroras, and himself bestowed upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that if he came to any harm himself, his brother might be in safety, and his sons might not have dominion over him. And when he had escorted Augustus to the sea, and had returned home, he built in his honour a most beautiful temple of white stone, in Zenodorus' district, near the place called Panium ;<sup>4</sup> where there is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is precipitous, and prodigiously deep, and full of stagnant water ;

<sup>1</sup> The district round the Lake Semechonitis, Merom, now *Bakeiret el-Huleh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Baniās*, Cæsarea Philippi.

<sup>3</sup> A *tetrarchy* properly and originally denoted *the fourth part of an entire kingdom or country* ; and a *tetrarch*, one that was *a ruler of such fourth part* ; which always implies somewhat less extent of dominion and power than belong to a kingdom and to a king.—W.

<sup>4</sup> The cavern at *Baniās* from which one of the sources of the Jordan issues ; there are still several niches with inscriptions cut in the rock.

over it hangs a vast mountain ; and under the cavern arise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod still further adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Augustus.

§ 4. At this time Herod remitted to his subjects the third part of their taxes, under pretext indeed of relieving them after the dearth they had had ; but his main reason was, to recover their good-will, for they were vexed at him because of the innovations he had introduced in their practices, to the dissolution of their religion, and to the disuse of their own customs ; and the people everywhere talked against him, like people who were still provoked and put out. Against these discontents he greatly guarded himself, taking away the opportunities the people might have to disturb him, and enjoining them to be always at work ; nor did he permit the citizens either to meet together, or to walk or eat together, but watched everything they did. And when any were caught they were severely punished, and there were many who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania,<sup>1</sup> both openly and secretly, and were there put to death ; and there were spies set everywhere, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together. Nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part, but that he would often himself put on the dress of a private man, and mix among the multitude in the night-time, and so find out what opinion they had of his government. And as for those that could no way be induced to acquiesce in his scheme of government, he persecuted them in all manner of ways, while for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will in his government. And indeed most, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them, but such as had more spirit, and were indignant at force, he by one means or other made away with. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and most of their scholars, to take this oath ; but they

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3.

would not submit to do so, nor were they punished with the rest, from the regard he had to Pollio. The Essenes also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this necessity. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall speak more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reason why Herod held these Essenes in such honour, and thought higher of them than their mortal nature warranted; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essenes.

§ 5. One of these Essenes, whose name was Manahem, had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life in an excellent manner, but had also the foreknowledge of future events given him by God. This man once saw Herod when he was but a lad, and going to school, and saluted him as king of the Jews; but he thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, reminded him that he was but a private person; but Manahem quietly smiled and clapped him on the backside with his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem has given thee, as a token to thee of the change of thy fortunes. And truly this will be the best determination for thee, that thou love justice and piety towards God, and clemency towards the citizens; yet do I know thy whole conduct, that thou wilt not be such a one. For thou wilt excel all men in good fortune and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and justice. And these crimes will not be concealed from God, for at the conclusion of thy life thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at the time Herod did not attend at all to what Manahem said, having no hopes of such advancement; but afterwards, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced by degrees to the dignity of king, and was at the height of his power, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, How long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, so upon his silence he asked him further, Whether he should reign ten years, or not? when he replied, "Yes, twenty, nay,

thirty years," but did not state the precise period of his reign. Herod was satisfied with this answer however, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he continued to honour all the Essenes. I have thought it proper to relate this to my readers, however strange it seems, and to declare what has happened among us, because many of the Essenes have, by their excellent virtue, been honoured [by God] by the knowledge of divine things.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning the Tower which he called Antonia.*

### § 1.

AND now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is to build at his own expense the temple of God, and to make it larger in compass, and to raise it to a most magnificent height, esteeming it to be the most glorious of all his actions, as it really was, to bring it to perfection, and thinking this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him. But as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in so great a design, he thought to prepare them first by making a speech to them, and then set about the work itself, so he called them together, and spoke to them as follows. "I think I need not speak to you, fellow countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself: for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what tended to ease your necessities, nor have the buildings I have erected been so much to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of prosperity which they never had before. And as for the particular edifices belonging to

your own country, and your own cities, that we have lately acquired, which we have erected and greatly adorned, and so augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves. But as to the undertaking which I have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence in our power, I will now speak about it to you. Our fathers, indeed, when they returned from Babylon, built this temple to Almighty God, yet does it want sixty cubits in height compared with the first temple which Solomon built. But let no one condemn our fathers for negligence or want of piety herein, for it was not their fault that the temple was no higher ; for it was Cyrus and Darius (the son of Hystaspes) who determined the measures for its re-building ; and because of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, they had not opportunity to follow the archetype of this holy edifice, nor could they raise it to its ancient height. But since I am now, by God's will, your governor, and have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches, and large revenues, and, what is the principal thing of all, am at amity with and favourably regarded by the Romans, who, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection which has arisen from necessity and the slavery which we were under formerly, and to make a thankful return in the most pious manner to God, for the blessings I have received from him in giving me this kingdom, by rendering his temple as complete as I am able."

§ 2. Such was the speech which Herod made to them, but still it astonished most of the people, being unexpected by them ; and because it seemed incredible to hope, it did not encourage them, but put a damper upon them, for they were afraid that he would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions for rebuilding it to perfection, and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them, he would not pull down their temple till

all things were got ready for building it up entirely again. And as he promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stone for the building,<sup>1</sup> and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught how to be builders, and others how to be carpenters, and then began to build, but not till everything was well prepared for the work.

§ 3. And Herod took up the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, which was in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which [twenty,] upon the sinking of their foundations,<sup>2</sup> fell down; and this part it was that we decreed to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and the length of each was twenty-five cubits, the height eight, and the breadth about twelve.<sup>3</sup> And the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal portico, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, so that it was visible to those that dwelt in the country for many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived opposite, or approached

<sup>1</sup> The stones for the Temple were apparently taken from the large subterranean quarry near the Damascus Gate.

<sup>2</sup> Some of our modern students in architecture have made a strange blunder here, when they imagine that Josephus affirms the entire foundation of the temple, or holy house, sunk down into the rocky mountain on which it stood, no less than twenty cubits; whereas he is clear, that they were the foundations of the additional twenty cubits only above the hundred, (made perhaps weak on purpose, and only for show and grandeur,) that sunk or fell down, as Dr. Hudson rightly understands him; nor is the thing itself possible in the other sense. Agrippa's preparation for building the inner parts of the temple twenty cubits higher, (*Jewish War*, v. 1, § 5,) must, in all probability, refer to this matter, since Josephus says here, that this which had fallen down was designed to be raised up again under Nero, under whom Agrippa made that preparation. But what Josephus says presently, that Solomon was the first king of the Jews, appears by the parallel place, *Antiq. xx. 9, § 7,* and other places, to be meant only the first of David's posterity, and the first builder of the temple.—W.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus here gives the size of one or two of the largest stones in the wall, and has rather exaggerated the height of the courses. The stones have weathered a yellowish brown; when fresh from the quarry they must have been of a pearly white colour.

it. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height as the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils, with flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven ; and over these, but under the cornices, was spread out a golden vine, with its clusters hanging down from a great height, the size and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators to see, such vast materials were there, and with such great skill was the workmanship done. He also surrounded the entire temple with very large porticoes, contriving them all in due proportion, and he laid out larger sums of money than had ever been done before, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he did. There was a large wall to both the porticoes, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that sloped gradually towards the east of the city up to its topmost peak. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, surrounded by divine revelation with a wall of excellent workmanship above and round the top of it.<sup>1</sup> He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and on the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them to one another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great depth, and till both the size of the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, and the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all time. When this work was joined together to the very top of the hill, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, each angle containing a furlong in length ;<sup>2</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> This sentence should be read as a parenthesis. The following ‘ He’ refers to Herod.

<sup>2</sup> This direct statement of Josephus that each side of Herod’s temple measured a furlong, or 600 feet, agreeing as it does with his statement below (§ 5) that the royal cloister was also a furlong, is of great importance in connection with the controversy relating to the site of the Temple at Jerusalem.

within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having on the east ridge a double portico of the same length as the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This portico faced the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times. And round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these were dedicated to the temple by Herod, who added those he had taken from the Arabians.

§ 4. Now in an angle on the north side [of the temple] was built a citadel, well fortified and of extraordinary strength. This citadel was built before Herod by the kings of the Asamonæan race, who were also high priests, and they called it the Tower, and in it were deposited the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> These vestments king Herod kept in that place, and after his death they were in the power of the Romans, until the days of Tiberius Cæsar; in whose reign Vitellius, the governor of Syria, when he visited Jerusalem, and was most magnificently received by the multitude, had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had showed him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request; and this power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa. And after him Cassius Longinus, who was governor of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judæa, bade the Jews deposit those vestments in the Tower of Antonia, on the plea that the Romans ought to have them in their power, as they had formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him as to this matter, on whose coming king Agrippa, junior, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained power over them from the emperor, who ordered Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time, they were kept under the seal of the high priest, and of the treasurers of the temple, which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the

<sup>1</sup> The castle of Antonia; it is that to which St. Paul was taken for safety. Acts xxiii. 10.

Roman commander of the fortress, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, brought them back to the same place, and showed the commander of the fortress their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and deposited them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterwards [about them] are sufficient evidence. As for the tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gave the Tower the name of Antonia, to gratify Antony, who was his friend and a ruler of the Romans.

§ 5. Now in the western part of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the rest of the city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again to the ascent.<sup>1</sup> For the city lay opposite the temple like a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter. But the fourth front of the temple, facing south, had indeed itself gates in its midst, and over it the royal portico, which was triple and reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any further: and this portico deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun. For as the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen if you looked from above into the depth, the high elevation of the portico stood upon that height, that if any one looked down from the top of the roof to those depths, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach down to such an abyss. And there were pillars that stood in four rows one over-against the other all along (for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which was built of stone), and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might with their arms extended span it, and its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral

<sup>1</sup> The first gate is that which led over 'Wilson's Arch' to the Upper City and Herod's palace; the last led over 'Robinson's Arch'; the remaining two are probably 'Barclay's Gate' and 'Warren's Gate,' in the west wall of the *Harām Area* at Jerusalem.

at its base. And the number of all the pillars was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapters were made with sculptures in the Corinthian style, that caused amazement from the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of the portico ; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived in the same manner ; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length a furlong,<sup>1</sup> and the height above fifty feet, but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side. And the roofs were adorned with deep carving in wood, representing many sorts of figures : the middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall in front was adorned with lintels, resting upon pillars that were interwoven into it, and the front was all of polished stone ; insomuch, that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was marvellous. Such was the first enclosure, and in the midst, not far from it, was the second, to be ascended to by a few steps ; this was surrounded by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription forbidding any foreigner to enter under pain of death. Now, this inner enclosure had on its south and north sides three gates, equi-distant from one another ; but on the east side, towards the sunrising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure went in with their wives. But within was a sanctuary not open to the women ; and still further within was there a third sanctuary, which it was not lawful for any but the priests to enter. The temple itself was within this, and before it was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did king Herod enter, for he was forbidden because he was not a priest. However, he laboured at the porticoes, and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

§ 6. And the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months, upon which all the people were full

<sup>1</sup> The royal cloister commenced at the S.W. angle of the *Harám Area*, and ran for 600 feet along its southern wall. The approach to the central aisle, from the west, was over 'Robinson's Arch,' the ruins of which were found by Sir C. Warren during his excavations.

of joy, and returned thanks in the first place to God for the speed with which it was finished, and in the next place for the zeal the king had shown, feasting and celebrating this rebuilding of the temple. As for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest, every one according to his ability ; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to be set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it. For at the same time as this celebration of the work about the temple, fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of old as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of both made the festival most notable.

§ 7. There was also an underground passage built for the king, which led from Antonia to the inner temple to its eastern gate, above which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of an underground ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any rebellion which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported that, during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but showers fell in the night, so that the work was not hindered. And this our fathers have handed down to us, nor is it incredible, if any one looks to the other manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the re-building of the temple.

## BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS.—FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

## CHAP. I.

*A Law of Herod about Housebreakers. Salome and Pheras calumniate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom Herod yet provides Wives.*

## § 1.

AS king Herod was very zealous in the administration of all his affairs, and desirous to put a stop to particular acts of injustice which were done by criminals in the city and country, he made a law no way like our original laws, which he enacted of himself, to sell house-breakers to be taken out of his kingdom, which punishment was not only grievous to be borne by the offenders, but contained in it an infringement of the customs of our forefathers. For slavery to foreigners and such as did not live after the manner of the Jews, and necessity to do whatever such men should command, was an offence against our religion rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being avoided in our original laws. For those laws ordained that the thief should restore fourfold, and if he had not so much, he should be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so as to be in perpetual slavery, for he had to be released after six years. But this law, thus enacted in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of arrogance in Herod, as he did not act as a king but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, ventured to introduce such a punishment. Now this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became one of

the charges brought against him, and caused hatred to himself.

§ 2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, being very desirous to meet Augustus, and to see his own sons who lived at Rome. And Augustus was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might take them home with him, as they had already completed their education. And as soon as the young men returned from Italy, the people were very desirous to see them, and they became the observed of all observers, being adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the countenances of persons of royal dignity. So they at once appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome the king's sister, and to those who had done Mariamne to death with their calumnies; for they were suspicious, that when these sons of her's came to the throne, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother. So they made this very fear of theirs a motive to raise calumnies against them also; and gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it did not appear agreeable to piety to live with their mother's murderer. Now, by retailing these stories, that were untrue<sup>1</sup> and only built on probabilities, they were able to do them mischief, and to take away that kindness from his sons which Herod had before borne to them. For they did not say these things to him outright, but scattered abroad such words among the multitude generally; from which words, when carried to Herod, hatred was by degrees generated, which natural affection itself, even by length of time, was not able to overcome. Yet did the king at this period prefer the natural affection of a father to all the suspicions and calumnies his sons lay under; and he honoured them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were grown up. To Aristobulus he gave for wife Berenice Salome's daughter, and to Alexander Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

<sup>1</sup> I read ἀπό.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.*

## § 1.

WHEN Herod had despatched these affairs, on hearing that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again from Italy to Asia, he hastened to him, and besought him to come to his kingdom, and receive that welcome he might justly expect from one that had been his guest and friend. This request he urgently pressed, and Agrippa agreed to it, and came into Judæa. And Herod omitted nothing that might please him, but entertained him in his new-built cities, and showed him the edifices he had built, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends, and showed him Sebaste, and the port that he had built at Cæsarea, and the fortresses which he had erected at great expense, as Alexandrium<sup>1</sup> and Herodium<sup>2</sup> and Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city of Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hetacomb to God, and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest dainties. As for himself he enjoyed himself so much there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have stayed longer, but that the season of the year made him haste away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to sail later, as he was obliged to return again to Ionia.

§ 2. So Agrippa sailed away, after Herod had bestowed many presents on him, and on the chief persons of his suite. And king Herod, when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to join him again in the spring, as he knew he meant to go on a campaign to the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed by Rhodes and Cos, he touched at Lesbos,<sup>3</sup> thinking he should find

<sup>1</sup> *Kefr Istūna.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jebel Fureidis.*

<sup>3</sup> The island now called Mytilene, from the name of its principal town.

Agrippa there, but he was delayed there by a north wind, which hindered his ship from entering port. So he continued many days at Chios, and there he kindly treated a great many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts; and when he saw that the portico of the city was fallen down (which, as it was overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and was a very large and fine building, was not so easy to rebuild as the rest) he furnished a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but more than sufficient to finish the building, and ordered them not to neglect that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its principal ornament. And when the wind ceased, he sailed to Mytilene,<sup>1</sup> and thence to Byzantium;<sup>2</sup> and when he heard that Agrippa had sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks,<sup>3</sup> he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him at Sinope<sup>4</sup> in Pontus. He was sighted by the fleet most unexpectedly, but appeared to their great joy; and many friendly greetings passed between Agrippa and him, for Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of Herod's kindness and affection towards him possible, since he had come so long a voyage, and at a very fit season for his assistance, and had left the administration of his own dominions, and thought it better worth his while to come to him. Accordingly, Herod was all in all to Agrippa in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving advice as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for Agrippa when he relaxed himself, and a partner with him in all things, in difficulties because of his good-will, and in prosperity because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as they had finished those affairs in Pontus, for which Agrippa was sent there, they did not think fit to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and travelled

<sup>1</sup> The chief town of Lesbos; it is now called *Castro*, and faces the mainland.

<sup>2</sup> The old name of Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> The islands off the mouth of the Bosphorus; Strabo calls them "two little isles, one upon the European, and the other on the Asiatic side of the strait, separated from each other by twenty stadia."

<sup>4</sup> On the north coast of Asia Minor, now *Sinub*.

thence by land over great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then sailed across from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed Herod bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them, but supplied the former himself at his own expense; he also became an intercessor with Agrippa for all such as sought after his favour, and he so managed that the petitioners failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself of a good disposition, and of great generosity, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioners, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of Herod was of very great weight to stimulate Agrippa, who was himself not slow to do good; for he made a reconciliation between him and the people of Ilium,<sup>1</sup> with whom he was angry, and paid the money the people of Chios owed Augustus' agents, and relieved them of their tribute; and helped all others according as their several necessities required.

§ 3. But now when Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great number of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, came to them, and seizing the opportunity and freedom now given them, laid before them the injuries which they suffered, as they were not permitted to use their own laws, but were compelled to prosecute their lawsuits by the ill-usage of the judges upon their holy days, and were deprived of the money they used to send to Jerusalem, and were forced into the army and into other services, and obliged to spend their sacred money, from which burdens they always used to be freed by the Romans, who had still permitted them to live according to their own laws. As they vociferated this, the king desired of Agrippa that he would hear their cause, and assigned Nicolaus, one of his friends, to plead for their privileges. Accordingly, when Agrippa had called the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors, Nicolaus stood up, and pleaded for the Jews as follows.

§ 4. "It is of necessity incumbent, most mighty

<sup>1</sup> Troy, *Hissarlik.*

Agrippa, on all who are in distress to have recourse to those that have it in their power to free them from injury, and those that are now your suppliants, approach you with great assurance. For as they have formerly often found you what they wished, they now only entreat that you, who have been the donors, will take care that those favours you have already granted them shall not be taken away from them. We have received these favours from you, who alone have power to grant them, but have them taken from us by such as are no greater than ourselves, and by such as know they are as much subjects as we are. And certainly, if persons have been vouchsafed great favours, it is to their commendation who have obtained them, as having been found deserving of such great favours; and if those favours be but small ones, it is dis-honourable for the donors not to confirm them. And as to those that thwart the Jews and use them ill, it is evident that they affront not only the receivers of these favours, as they will not allow those to be worthy men to whom their excellent rulers themselves have borne testimony, but also the donors, as they desire that those favours already granted may be abrogated. Now if any one were to ask them which of the two they would rather part with, their lives, or the customs of their forefathers, as their solemn processions, their sacrifices, and their festivals, which they celebrate in honour of those they suppose to be gods, I know very well that they would choose to suffer anything whatever, rather than to give up any of the customs of their forefathers. For most choose rather to go to war on that account, being very solicitous not to transgress in such matters: and indeed we measure that happiness which all mankind do now enjoy owing to you by this very thing, that we are allowed every one to worship and live as our institutions require. And although they would not like to be thus treated themselves, yet do they endeavour to compel others to comply with them, as if it were not as great an instance of impiety, to profanely dissolve the religious solemnities of others, as to be negligent in the observance of their own duty towards their gods. And now let us consider another case. Is there any people or city, or community of men, to whom your

government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours thence proceeding? No one is certainly so mad: for there are no men who have not been partakers of those favours both publicly and privately and indeed those that take away what you have granted can have no assurance but that every one of their own grants made them by you may be taken from them also. And yet these grants of yours can never be sufficiently valued; for if people were to compare the old government under kings with the present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government has bestowed on them for their happiness, this is above all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery but of freedom. Now our circumstances, even at the best, are not such as deserve to be envied, for we are indeed in a prosperous state through you, but only in common with all others; and we desire no more than this to preserve our national religion without any prohibition which as it appears not in itself a privilege to be grudged us, so is it for the advantage of those that grant it to us: for if the divinity delights in being honoured, he delights also in those that permit him to be honoured. And there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all are pious and devoted to the preservation of justice; nor do we conceal these precepts of ours, by which we govern our lives, as they are suggesters of piety, and of friendliness to men: and the seventh day we set apart from labour for the learning of our customs and laws,<sup>1</sup> as we think it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to avoid sin. If any one, therefore, examine our customs, he will find that they are good in themselves, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise so that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, from the honour they pay to the length of time they have religiously observed them.

<sup>1</sup> We may here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabbath-day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rights and religious customs, and to meditation on the law of Moses. This like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus, as Against Apion i. § 22.—W.

Now our adversaries are for unjustly taking our privileges away, they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called sacred money, and that openly in a sacrilegious manner; and they impose tribute upon us, and bring us before tribunals and make us do other services on holy days, not because the laws require it, or for their own advantage, but because they would put an affront on our religion, which they know as well as we, indulging themselves in an unjust and involuntary hatred. For your government over all your subjects is one, and tends to the establishing of benevolence and abolishing of ill-will among such as are disposed to it. This then is what we implore of thee, most mighty Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from following our own customs; nor be despoiled of our goods; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves do not force them to do: for these privileges of ours are not only according to justice, but have also been granted us by you. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tablets that contain them, which are still extant in the Capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were granted after you had experience of our fidelity towards you, and which would be valid, even if no such fidelity had previously been shown by us. For you have hitherto preserved what people were in possession of, not to us only but to almost all men, and have added greater advantages than they could have hoped for, and thereby your sway has become a great advantage to them. And if any one were to enumerate the benefits you have conferred on every nation, he would never put an end to his discourse; but that we may prove that we are not unworthy of all those advantages we have obtained, it will be sufficient for us to say nothing of other things, but to speak freely of the king who now governs us, and is one of thy assessors. For indeed, in what instance of good-will, as to your house, has he been deficient? What mark of fidelity to it has he omitted? What token of honour has he not devised? What occasion of assisting you has he not regarded first? What hinders, therefore, but that your kindnesses may be as numerous as his so great benefits to you have been?

It may also perhaps be fit here not to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Cæsar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved second to none, either in the battles on land, or in the management of the fleet. And what need to say anything of the great importance those soldiers were at that juncture? or how many and how great presents they were vouchsafed by Cæsar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the letters which Cæsar wrote to the senate at that time, and how Antipater had public honours, and the freedom of the city of Rome bestowed upon him. For these are proofs that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and so we petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we should have had reason to hope for them, even though they had not been given us before, looking both to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. We have also been informed by those Jews, that were there, with what kindness thou camest into our country, and how thou offerdest perfect sacrifices to God, and honoured him with perfect vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and didst accept their own hospitable presents to thee. We ought to esteem all these kind entertainments made both by our nation and city to a man who has management of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou feelest in return to the Jewish nation, and which has been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things, in the presence of the king now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given us yourselves, you will not see taken away from us by others."

§ 5. When Nicolaus had made this speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made as in a court of justice, but a petition to prevent violence being offered to the Jews any longer. Nor did the Greeks deny that they had done so, but their excuse was that as the Jews inhabited their country, they were entirely unjust to them [in not joining in their worship]. But the Jews proved that they were natives, and that, though they worshipped according to their own institu-

tions, they did nothing to harm them. So Agrippa, perceiving that they had been oppressed by violence, made the following answer: that because of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested anything further, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided it was no way to the detriment of the Roman empire; and that, while their request was no more than this, that the privileges they had already had given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observance of their own customs, without any one offering them injury." And when he had said this, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him back, and embraced him, and then left Lesbos.<sup>1</sup> But Herod determined to sail homewards, and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he set sail, and landed at Cæsarea<sup>2</sup> in a few days' time, having favourable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there from the country also. So he came forward, and gave a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, and how owing to him they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of all the good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected anything which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. And they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.

<sup>1</sup> The island of *Mytilene*.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

## CHAP. III.

*How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family because of his preferring Antipater, his eldest Son, to the rest, and how Alexander took that Injury very much to heart.*

## § 1.

BUT now the affairs in Herod's family grew to more disorder, and became worse and worse, from the hatred of Salome to the young men [Alexander and Aristobulus], which descended as it were by inheritance [from their mother Mariamne]; and as she had completely succeeded against her mother, so she proceeded to that degree of recklessness as to endeavour that none of her posterity might be left alive, who might have it in their power to revenge her murder. The young men had also somewhat of a naughty and ill-affected air towards their father, occasioned by the remembrance of what their mother had unjustly suffered, and by their own desire for reigning. The old grudge was again renewed, and they cast reproaches on Salome and Pheroras, who requited the young men with malice and laid treacherous snares for them. As for this hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of showing it was different; for as for the young men they were rash, reproaching and affronting Salome and Pheroras openly, being inexperienced enough to think it most noble to declare their minds in that frank manner; but Salome and Pheroras did not take that method, but made use of calumnies in subtle and spiteful manner, provoking the young men on every occasion, and imagining that their boldness might in time come to offering violence to their father. For inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretended crimes of their mother, and thought she suffered unjustly, Salome and Pheroras supposed that their feelings might at length exceed all bounds, and might induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, even though they despatched him with their own hands. At last it came to this, that the whole city was full of talk of this kind, and, as is usual in such contests, the inexperience of

was too much for them, and the imputations she laid upon them came to be believed owing to their own conduct. For they were so deeply affected at the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of her pitiable end, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and likely to experience the same treatment.

§ 2. These family feuds increased greatly, and the king's absence abroad afforded a fit opportunity for their increase. And as soon as Herod had returned, and had made his speech to the multitude, Pheroras and Salome immediately let fall words as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly threatened that they would not spare him any longer, but revenge their mother's death upon him. They also added another circumstance, that their hopes were fixed on Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, that they should be able through him to go to Augustus and accuse their father. Herod was immediately disturbed at hearing such things, and indeed was the more dismayed because the same things were related to him by some other persons also. This recalled to his mind his former calamity, and he reflected that family troubles had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, and from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would be even heavier and greater than those that were past, he was in great confusion of mind. For divine Providence had indeed conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home were such as he had never expected to have met with, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both good and bad fortune happened to him more than one could have anticipated, and made it a doubtful question, whether, upon the comparison of both, it was desirable to have had so much success in outward things with such great misfortunes at home, or whether it would not have been better to avoid family troubles, though he had never possessed the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

§ 3. As he was thus embarrassed and unhappy, in order to put down these young men, he summoned to his court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private individual (whose name was Antipater), but he did not indulge him then as he did afterwards, when he was quite mastered by him, and let him do everything he pleased, but rather in the design of repressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamne, and managing this elevation of his so, that it might be for a warning to them; for their audacity would not (he thought) be so great, if they were once persuaded that the succession to the kingdom did not appertain to them alone, or need of necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their rival, and imagined this a good plan for abating their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, there might be a likelihood of their being of a better disposition. But the event proved other than he expected. For the young men thought he had done them a very great injury, and as Antipater was a shrewd man, when he had once obtained this position, and begun to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one design, and that was to hurt his brothers, and not to yield them the pre-eminence, but to stick to his father, who was already alienated from them by calumnies, and easy to be worked upon in any way his zeal against them urged him to pursue, that he might be continually more and more severe against them. Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him, while he avoided himself the suspicion of those discoveries coming from him, for he mainly used those persons as his creatures who were unsuspected, and such as might be believed to speak truth because of the good-will they bore to the king. And indeed there were already not a few who paid court to Antipater in hopes of gaining somewhat by him, and these were the men who most of all persuaded Herod, because they appeared to speak thus out of their good-will to him. And while these accusations from various sources corroborated each other, the young men themselves afforded further occasion for suspicion. For they were observed to shed tears often, on account of the dishonour that was done them, and often had their mother in their mouths, and among their friends

openly ventured to reproach their father as not acting justly by them ; all which things were with an evil intention kept in memory by Antipater for a fit season, and when they were repeated to Herod with exaggerations, increased very much the family troubles. For as the king was very angry at what was alleged against the sons of Mariamne, and was desirous to humble them, he still increased the honours that he bestowed on Antipater ; and was at last so much under his influence that he actually brought his mother to court. He also wrote frequently to Augustus in his favour, and most earnestly recommended him to him. And when Agrippa was returning to Rome, after he had finished his ten years' government in Asia, Herod sailed from Judæa, and when he met with Agrippa, he had none with him but Antipater, whom he delivered to him, that he might take him along with him, together with many presents, that so he might become Augustus' friend ; insomuch, that things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men were entirely shut out of any hopes of the kingdom.

## CHAP. IV.

*How, during Antipater's Abode at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and Aristobulus before Augustus, and accused them. Alexander's Defence of himself before Augustus, and Reconciliation with his Father.*

## § 1.

AND now what happened during Antipater's absence augmented the honour to which he had been promoted, and his apparent eminence above his brothers, for he made a great figure in Rome, because Herod had recommended him by letter to all his friends there. Only he was grieved that he was not at home, and had no opportunities for perpetually calumniating his brothers ; and his chief fear was, lest his father should alter his mind, and entertain a more favourable opinion of the sons of Mariamne. And as he had this in his mind, he did not desist from his

purpose, but continually sent from Rome any such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brothers, under pretence indeed of a deep concern for his preservation, but in truth, such as his malignity suggested, in order to add to his hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself ; and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger and indignation in Herod, that he was already become very ill-disposed towards the young men. But as he shrank from publicly showing his violent disgust with them, that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Augustus, and not to indulge himself in any such act as might from its enormity be suspected of impiety. And on his going up to Rome, it happened that he hastened to meet Augustus at the city of Aquileia ;<sup>1</sup> and when he came to speech with Augustus, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and produced his sons there, and accused them of their desperate conspiracy against him. He said that they were enemies to him, and did their utmost to show their hatred to him their father, and wished to take away his life in the most barbarous manner, and so obtain his kingdom, which he had authority from Cæsar to dispose of, not by necessity but by choice, to him who should show the greatest piety towards him. He said also that his sons were not so desirous of ruling, as they were (upon being disappointed thereof) to expose their own lives, if they might but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted had their minds become from their hatred to him. And whereas he had a long time borne this misfortune, he was now compelled (he said) to lay it before Augustus, and to pollute his ears with the hearing of it. And yet what severity had they ever suffered from him ? or what hardships had he ever laid upon them to make them complain of him ? and how could they think it just, that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he had gained in a long time and with great danger, and that they should not allow him to keep it, and dispose of it to him who should deserve best ? And

<sup>1</sup> The modern *Aquileia*, near the head of the Adriatic. It was the capital of the province of Venetia.

that, with other advantages, he proposed as a reward for the piety of such a one as would hereafter imitate the care he had taken of it, and such a one would gain so great a requital. But it was an impious thing for them to intrigue for it beforehand, for he who had ever the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckoned on the death of his father, because otherwise he could not come to the throne. As for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and all that was fit for such as were subject to royal authority, and were the sons of a king, pomp and servants, and delicate fare, and had married them into the most illustrious families, Aristobulus to his sister's daughter, and Alexander to the daughter of king Archelaus. And what was the greatest favour of all, though their crimes were so very bad, and he had authority to punish them, yet had he not made use of it against them, but had brought them before Augustus, their common benefactor, and had not used the severity which he might have done, either as a father who had been impiously treated, or as a king who had been conspired against, but made them stand upon the same level as himself in judgment. Lastly he said that it was necessary that all this should not be passed over without punishment, nor he himself live in the greatest fears ; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they had aimed at, even if they should escape that time, since they had done the vilest things that ever were known among mankind, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishment.

§ 2. These were the accusations which Herod brought with great vehemence against his sons before Augustus. Now the young men wept and were in confusion while he was speaking, and still more at his concluding. As to themselves, they knew in their own consciences that they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father, they knew, as was indeed the case, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might with force and earnestness refute their father's accusation, yet it was not now decent so to do. There was therefore a difficulty how they should be able to speak,

and tears and at last deep groans followed, for they were afraid, if they said nothing, that they should seem to be in this difficulty from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready because of their youth and the alarm they were in. Nor did Augustus fail to perceive, when he saw the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of crime, but from their unskilfulness and modesty. They were also commiserated by those who were present, nay they privately moved their father with genuine emotion.

§ 3. So when they saw there was a kind disposition both in him and Augustus, and that every one else present did either shed tears, or at least sympathize with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, addressed his father, and attempted to answer his accusations, and said, “O father, the benevolence thou hast shown to us is evident, even in this very judicial procedure, for hadst thou had any bad intentions in regard to us, thou wouldest not have produced us here before the common saviour of all. For it was in thy power, both as a king and as a father, to punish the guilty, but by thus bringing us to Rome, and making Augustus himself a witness to what is done, thou intimatest that thou intendest to save us, for no one that has a design to slay a man will bring him to temples and sanctuaries. But our circumstances are still worse, for we cannot endure to live any longer, if it be believed that we have injured such a father; nay, perhaps, it would be worse for us to live with this suspicion upon us, that we have injured him, than to die innocent. But if our bold defence be received as true, we shall be happy, both in persuading thee, and in escaping the danger we are in, but if this calumny still prevails, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the sun this day, for why should we see it with this suspicion fixed upon us? Now, it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign, and to add charges about our unhappy mother, is abundantly sufficient to produce our present misfortune out of the former. But consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all young men, and may not be said of them all promiscuously? For nothing can hinder him that reigns, if he have children, and their mother be dead, but that he may have

a suspicion of all his sons, as intending some treachery against him; but a mere suspicion is not sufficient to prove such impiety. Now let any man say, whether we have actually dared to attempt any such things as would make actions otherwise incredible to appear credible. Can anyone prove the preparation of poison, or a conspiracy of our comrades, or the corruption of servants, or letters written against thee? though indeed there are none of those things but have sometimes been invented by calumny, though they were never done. For a royal family that is at variance with itself is a terrible thing; and the throne, which thou callest a reward of piety, often excites in very wicked men such hopes as make them draw back from no criminality. However no one will actually lay any crime to our charge. And as to calumny, how can he put an end to it, who will not hear what we have to say? Have we talked with too great freedom? not against thee, for that would be wrong, but against those that never conceal anything that is spoken to them. Have either of us lamented our mother? yes, but not because she is dead, but because she was ill spoken of by unworthy persons. Are we desirous of the throne which we know our father is possessed of? For what reason can we be so? if we already have royal honours, as we have, should we not labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet are not we in hope of them? Or supposing that we had killed thee, could we expect to obtain thy kingdom? why, neither the earth would let us tread upon it, nor the sea let us sail upon it, after such an action as that: nay, the religion of all your subjects, and the piety of the whole nation, would have prevented parricides from being at the head of affairs, and from entering into the most holy temple built by thee. And suppose we had made light of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished, while Augustus is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious or thoughtless as that, though perhaps more unfortunate than was well for thee. But if thou neither findest any causes of complaint, nor any treacherous designs, what sufficient evidence hast thou to make such wickedness credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but what befell her would be an instruction to us to caution, and not

an incitement to wickedness. We are willing to make a longer apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of argument. Wherefore we make this agreement with thee before Augustus, the lord of all, as mediator now between us: if thou, O father, canst bring thyself by the evidence of truth to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall not be happy; for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou in thy pious life, we will see to ourselves,<sup>1</sup> our life is not so desirable to us as for us to wish to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us."

§ 4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Augustus, who did not even before believe so grave a charge, was still more moved, and looked intently upon Herod, and perceived he was a little confused; and the persons present were in anxiety about the young men, and the fame that was spread abroad at court made the king hated. For the incredibility of the charge, and the pity felt for the young men, who were in the flower of youth and beauty of body, inspired sympathy, and the more so because Alexander had made his defence with dexterity and prudence. Nay, the young men themselves did not any longer continue in their former guise, bedewed with tears and with eyes cast down to the ground, for now there arose in them a hope of better things, and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence to convict them, so that some apology seemed required from him. But Augustus, after some delay, said, that although the young men were innocent of that with which they had been charged, yet they had been to blame for not having demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent the suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them. He also exhorted Herod to lay aside all such suspicion and to be reconciled to his sons; for it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and this change of mind on both sides might not only heal those breaches that had happened between them, but might even

<sup>1</sup> A euphemism for committing suicide.

improve their good-will to one another, whereby on both sides, apologizing for the rashness of their suspicions, they might resolve to feel more affection towards each other than they had before. After Augustus had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men, and when they were disposed to fall down at their father's feet, he took them up, and embraced them, in tears as they were, and took each of them in turn into his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether freeman or slave, but was deeply affected.

§ 5. Then did they return thanks to Augustus, and went away together, and with them went Antipater, who hypocritically pretended that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And on the following days Herod made Augustus a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows, and bestowing largesses on the people of Rome; and Augustus made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: and as to his kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased as his successor, or to distribute it in parts to each, that the royal rank might so come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement at once, Augustus said that he would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons.

§ 6. After this Herod returned to Judæa again. But during his absence from home, the Trachonites, no small part of his dominions, had revolted, but the commanders he left there had vanquished them, and compelled them to submission again. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and put in near Cilicia at Elæusa, which has now had its name changed to Sebaste,<sup>1</sup> he met with Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who received him kindly, and rejoiced that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end. They also made one another such presents as it became

<sup>1</sup> The island and town of Elæusa, called Sebaste, was near the river Lamas, on the south-east coast of Asia Minor. It is now a small peninsula covered with ruins, and connected with the main land by an isthmus of sand.

kings to make. From thence Herod went to Judæa, and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done during his absence from home, telling them about Augustus' kindness to him, and about as many of the particular things he had done, as he thought it for his advantage they should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons, and exhorted the courtiers and the multitude to concord, and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him, Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne; but at present he desired that they should all pay court to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet effete from old age, but was at that period of life when he was most skilful in governing, and that he was not deficient in other arts that might enable him to govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He also told the rulers and soldiers, that in case they looked to him alone, they would pass their lives in tranquillity, and would make one another happy. And when he had said this, he dismissed the assembly. His speech was acceptable to most of the audience, but not to some, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovation among some of them.

## CHAP. V.

*How Herod celebrated Games, to take place every fifth Year, upon the Building of Cœsarea; and how he built and adorned many other Places in a magnificent manner; and how he did many other Actions gloriously.*

### § 1.

ABOUT this time Cœsarea Sebaste, which Herod had built, was finished. The entire building being concluded in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell in the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations were made

at once for its dedication. For the king appointed contests in music and athletic exercises, and also got ready a great number of gladiators, and of beasts for like purpose: horse races also, and the most costly of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome and in other places. He consecrated these contests to Cæsar Augustus, and ordered them to be celebrated every fifth year. He also provided all the apparatus for it at his own expense, to set off his liberality; and Julia, the Emperor's wife, sent a great part of her most costly things privately from Rome, insomuch that he had no want of anything. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now when a great multitude was come to Cæsarea, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom various people sent because of the benefits they had received from Herod, he entertained them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts, the festival having in the day-time the attractions of the fights, and in the night-time such merry-making as cost vast sums of money, and publicly demonstrated the greatness of his soul, for in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exhibit what exceeded whatever had been done before. And they say that Augustus himself and Agrippa often said, that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, for he deserved to have the kingdom of all Syria, and of Egypt also.

§ 2. After this solemnity and these festivals were over, Herod erected another city in the plain which is called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil for what was there planted, as a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for size was round about it. This he named Antipatris after his father Antipater.<sup>1</sup> He also built, upon another spot of ground above Jericho, a place of great security, and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros<sup>2</sup> after the name of his mother. He also dedicated the finest monument to his brother Phasaelus, on account of

<sup>1</sup> Now *Râs el-'Ain*, near the point at which the Roman road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea left the hills for the plain.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Beit Jubr et-Tahtâni*. See Jewish War, i. 21, §§ 4, 9; ii. 18, § 6.

the great natural affection there had been between them, by erecting a tower in the city itself, not smaller than the tower of Pharos,<sup>1</sup> which he called Phasaelus, which was at once a part of the defences of the city and a memorial of him that was deceased, because it bore his name. He also built a city which he called after him in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northwards, whereby he rendered the neighbouring country more fruitful, by the cultivation which its inhabitants introduced ; and this he called Phasaelis.<sup>2</sup>

§ 3. As for his other benefits, it is impossible to reckon up those which he bestowed on cities both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he went to in his travels. For he seems to have contributed very liberally to many public burdens and to the building of public works, and furnished the money that was necessary for such works as wanted it upon the failure of their revenues. But the greatest and most illustrious of all his works was the erection of Apollo's temple at Rhodes at his own expense, and his giving the people of Rhodes a great many talents of silver to build a fleet. He also built the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis<sup>3</sup> near Actium : and for the inhabitants of Antioch, the principal city of Syria, where a broad street cuts through the place lengthways, he built porticoes along it on both sides, and paved the open road with polished stone, which was of very great advantage to the inhabitants. And as to the Olympian games, which were in a very low condition because of want of money, he revived their reputation, and appointed revenues for keeping them up, and made that general festival more stately as to the sacrifices and other displays. And because of this great liberality, he was almost unanimously registered as one of the perpetual judges of those games.

§ 4. Now there are some who stand amazed at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes. For when we look at his magnificence, and at the benefits which he bestowed on

<sup>1</sup> The present 'Tower of David' at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Fusdil*.

<sup>3</sup> Built by Augustus in commemoration of the victory of Actium ; the ruins are near *Prévesa*.

all people, there is no possibility even for those that had the least respect for him to deny, or not to admit, that he had a nature vastly beneficent; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did not only to his subjects but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition, he will be forced to allow that he appears brutish, and a stranger to all humanity; whence some people suppose his nature to be various and sometimes self-contradictory. But I am myself of another opinion, and imagine that the cause of both these sort of actions was one and the same. For being an ambitious man, and quite overcome by that passion, he was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes either of future memory or of present reputation; and as his expenses were beyond his means, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects. For the persons on whom he expended his money were so many that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and as he was conscious that he was hated by those under him for the injuries he had done them, he thought it no easy thing to amend his offences, for that was inconvenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other hand to make their ill-will an opportunity to add to his gains. As to his own people, therefore, if anyone was not very obsequious to him in language, and would not confess himself to be his slave, or seemed to think of any innovation in his realm, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were his enemies; and he committed such faults from a desire that he might himself alone be honoured. Now for this my assertion about that feeling of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Augustus and Agrippa and his other friends; for those honours he paid to those who were his superiors he desired also to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he showed an inclination to have also presented to himself. But the Jewish nation is by their law a stranger to all such things, and accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory; for which reason that nation was not agreeable to him, because it was out of their power to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples, or any

other such things. And this seems to me to have been at once the cause of Herod's harsh acts to his own courtiers and counsellors, and of his benefits to foreigners and to those that had no relation to him.

## CHAP. VI.

*An Embassage of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Augustus, concerning the Complaints they had to make against the Greeks; with Copies of the Letters which Augustus and Agrippa wrote to the Cities for them.*

### § 1.

NOW the Greek cities ill-treated the Jews in Asia, and also all those of the same nation who lived in Libya<sup>1</sup> near Cyrene, though the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks oppressed them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on particular occasions. As therefore they were thus evil intreated, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent ambassadors to Augustus about these matters. And he gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonies of the favourable disposition the Roman emperors formerly had towards us.

§ 2. "Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, and tribune of the people, ordains as follows. Since the nation of the Jews has been found friendly to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and especially Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Cæsar the emperor,<sup>2</sup> it has seemed good to me and my council, according to the wish and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews should

<sup>1</sup> Libya was that portion of Africa which lay to the west of Lower and Middle Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus here calls Julius Cæsar his 'father,' though by birth he was only his 'uncle,' on account of his adoption by him. See the same, Antiq. xiv. 14, § 4.—W.

have liberty to follow their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they did under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God ; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem ; and that they be not obliged to appear in court either on the Sabbath-day, or on the day of preparation before it, after the ninth hour.<sup>1</sup> And if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue, or from the men's apartments, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be confiscated to the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the decree which they have given me, on account of the piety which I exercise to all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, and the present edict, be put up in the most eminent place consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra.<sup>2</sup> And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 3. "Cæsar Augustus sends greeting to Norbanus Flaccus. Let those Jews, however numerous they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cæsar Augustus.

§ 4. Agrippa also himself wrote in the following manner on behalf of the Jews. "Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom ; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and flee to a sanctuary, shall be torn from thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are torn from thence. I have also written to Silanus the

<sup>1</sup> This is authentic evidence, that the Jews, in the days of Augustus, began to prepare for the celebration of the Sabbath at the ninth hour on Friday, as the tradition of the elders did, it seems, then require of them.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Angora in Asia Minor ; the inscription was on one of the walls of the Temple.

prætor, that no one compel the Jews to appear in court on the Sabbath-day."

§ 5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have petitioned me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, who was then prætor of Libya, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money should be sent to Jerusalem without hindrance, as has been their custom from their forefathers, for they complain that they are harassed by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes which are not due, are hindered from sending them; which I command to be restored them without any diminution or trouble; and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be duly returned to the Jews in that place."

§ 6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, sends greeting to the magistrates and senate of the Sardians. The Emperor has written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, however numerous they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers, or from sending their money to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both the Emperor and I would have you act accordingly."

§ 7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus on the Ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia pointed out to me, that Cæsar Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first fruits, which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without let or hindrance. They also petitioned me, that I would also confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own decree. I would therefore have you take notice, according to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, that I permit them to use, and do according to, the customs of their forefathers without let or hindrance."

§ 8. I have felt obliged to set down these decrees, because the history of our acts will go generally among the

Greeks, and I have thus shown them that we were formerly held in great esteem, and were not prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers ; nay, that we were supported by them in following our own religion and worship of God. And I frequently mention these decrees to reconcile other people to us, and to remove any reasons for that hatred which inconsiderate men seem naturally to bear to us. As for our customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city almost we meet with different ones ; but justice is most for the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws pay the greatest regard, and so render us, if we observe them rightly, benevolent and friendly to all men. On which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, nor ought they to esteem difference of institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but should look rather to virtue and probity, for this belongs to all men in common, and is sufficient of itself alone for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

## CHAP. VII.

*How, upon his going down into David's Tomb, the Troubles in Herod's Family greatly increased.*

### § 1.

AS for Herod, he had spent vast sums on the cities both without and within his own kingdom : and as he soon heard how Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's tomb, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and how there was much more left, indeed enough to suffice for all his wants, he had long intended to make an attempt on it, so now he opened the tomb by night, and went into it, and to prevent its being known in the city took only his most faithful friends with him. As for money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but golden ornaments and various treasures laid up there, all of which he took away. However, he had a

great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go further in, even as far as the very coffins of David and Solomon. But two of his body-guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report went, so he was terribly frightened, and went out and built a propitiatory memorial in white stone at the mouth of the tomb at great expense, to mark the fright he had been in. Even Nicolaus his historiographer makes mention of this building of Herod, though he does not mention his going down into the tomb, as he knew that action was indecorous. And many other things he treats in the same manner in his history. For he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and during his reign, and so as to please and serve him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put a good colour on the murder of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions on the part of the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous plots of her sons, and thus he proceeded in his whole work, passing excessive encomiums upon the just actions Herod did, and earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. However, as I said, one might say a great deal by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so much write a history for others, as what might serve the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asamonæan kings, and so have the honour of the priesthood, we think it unbecoming to say anything that is false about them, and accordingly we have described their actions in an honest and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity who still reign, yet do we pay a greater regard to truth than to them, and that though it has sometimes happened that we have incurred their displeasure by so doing.

§ 2. Now Herod's family troubles seemed to be augmented by the attempt he made upon David's tomb, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he suffered from, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him in those cases, wherein the opportuneness of the case made it strongly believed that the calamities came upon him for his impiety. For

the quarrels were like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was such that each strove to exceed one another in calumnies. And Antipater was always undermining his brothers, and that very cunningly: he got them loaded with accusations, but took upon himself frequently to apologize for them, that this seeming benevolence to them might make him get believed, and forward his attempts against them. By this means he in various ways circumvented his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolemy, who was the manager of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater, and consulted with his mother about important matters also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king angry with any other persons, as they thought would be to their own advantage. So the sons of Mariamne got in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and as they were passed over, and set in a more dishonourable rank, though by birth the most noble, they could not bear the dishonour. As for the women, Alexander's wife Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, was hated by Salome, both because of her love to her own husband, and because of Glaphyra's seeming to behave herself somewhat insolently towards her daughter,<sup>1</sup> who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of rank to herself Glaphyra took very impatiently.

§ 3. Now, besides this second strife that had fallen out among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but gave private grounds for suspicion and hatred. For he was overcome by the charms of his wife to such a degree of madness, that he despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly adhered to his wife, who had been but a slave. So Herod was vexed at the dishonour done him, because he had bestowed many favours upon him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he did not make him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself unhappy on that account. So upon Pheroras' refusal,

<sup>1</sup> Berenice, the daughter of Salome.

he gave the damsel to Phasaelus's son: but after some time, when he thought the heat of his brother's affection for his wife was abated, he blamed him for his former conduct, and asked him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros. Ptolemy also advised him to leave off affronting his brother, and to put away her whom he loved, for it was disgraceful to be so enamoured of a slave, as to deprive himself of the king's good-will to him, and become an occasion of his trouble, and make himself hated by him. Pheroras knew that this advice was for his good, particularly as he had been accused before, and forgiven; so he put the poor woman away, although he had already a son by her, and promised the king that he would take his second daughter, and agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage; and swore he would have no further intercourse with her whom he had put away. But when the thirty days were over, he was such a slave to his affections, that he no longer performed anything he had promised, but continued still with his former wife. This plainly grieved Herod and made him angry, so that the king dropped one word or other against Pheroras perpetually; and many made the king's anger an opportunity for calumniating him. Nor had the king any longer a single quiet day or hour, but some fresh quarrel or other arose among his relations and those that were dearest to him. For Salome was of a harsh temper, and ill-natured to Mariamne's sons, nor would she suffer her own daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, one of those young men, to live happily with her husband, but persuaded her to tell her if he said anything to her in private; and when any misunderstanding happened, as is common, she raised a great many suspicions out of it; by which means she learned all their concerns, and made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often said that the young men used to mention Mariamne when they were by themselves, and that they hated their father, and were continually threatening, if they once got the kingdom, that they would make Herod's sons by his other wives village-clerks, for the present education which was given them, and their diligence in learning, fitted them for such an employment; while as

for the women, whenever they saw them adorned with their mother's clothes, they threatened, that instead of their present gaudy apparel, they should be clothed in sackcloth, and confined so closely that they should not see the light of the sun. These stories were at once carried by Salome to the king, who was troubled to hear them, and endeavoured to make up matters; but these suspicions afflicted him, and becoming more and more uneasy, he believed everybody against everybody. However, upon his rebuking his sons, and hearing their defence, he was easier for a while, though a little afterwards much worse troubles came upon him.

§ 4. For Pheroras went to Alexander, the husband of Glaphyra, who was the daughter of Archelaus, as I have already stated, and said, that he had heard from Salome, that Herod was enamoured of Glaphyra, and that his passion for her was vehement. When Alexander heard that, he was all on fire from his youth and jealousy, and put the worst interpretation on Herod's attentions to her, which were very frequent, from the suspicions he had on account of what fell from Pheroras. Nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but went to his father and informed him of what Pheroras had said. Upon this Herod was more put out than ever, and not being able to bear such a false calumny, which tended to his shame, was much disturbed at it: and often did he complain of the wickedness of his relations, and how good he had been to them, and what ill return they had made him. And he sent for Pheroras, and reproached him, and said, "Thou vilest of all men! art thou come to that unmeasureable and extravagant degree of ingratitude, as not only to suppose but to speak such things of me? I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are, it is not thy aim only to reproach me, in using such words to my son, but thereby to tempt him to plot against me, and take me off by poison. For who, if he had not a good genius like my son, would have such a suspicion of his father, and not revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only dropped a word for him to think of, and not rather put a sword into his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, by pretending kindness to them, only

to raise calumnies against me, and by talking of such things as no one but such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in mind or declare in words. Begone, thou that art such a vile plague to thy benefactor and brother, and may that evil conscience of thine go along with thee ; and may I still overcome my relations by kindness, and be so far from avenging myself on them as they deserve, as to bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of."

§ 5. Thus did the king speak. Whereupon Pheroras, who was caught in the very act of his villainy, said, that Salome had concocted this plot, and that the words came from her. And as soon as she heard that (for she happened to be at hand), she cried out plausibly that no such word ever came out of her mouth, and that they all earnestly endeavoured to make the king hate her, and to get rid of her, because of the good-will she bore to Herod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him ; and that at present there were more plots against him than usual ; and as she was the only person who had urged her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to marry the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she was hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denial somewhat plausible, but the malignity of her character argued her dissimulation. But Pheroras was in a fix, and had nothing plausible to offer in his own defence, for he confessed that he had said what was charged against him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome. So the confusion among them, and their quarrelsome words to one another, increased. At last the king, out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away ; and when he had commended the moderation of his son in himself telling him of the report, as it was now late he went to rest. After such a contest as this had fallen out among them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calumny ; and the king's wives hated her, knowing she was a very ill-natured woman and unreliable, as she would sometimes be a friend, and sometimes an enemy. So they perpetually said one thing or other against her to Herod, and some-

thing that now happened made them the bolder in speaking against her.

§ 6. There was one Obodas, king of Arabia, an inactive and slothful man in his nature; and Syllæus managed most of his affairs for him. He was an able man, although but young, and was handsome also. This Syllæus upon some occasion coming to Herod, and supping with him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her; and understanding that she was a widow he made up to her. Now because Salome was at this time less in favour with her brother, and looked upon Syllæus with some passion, she was very earnest to be married to him; and on the following days, as they went to supper, there appeared many and very great indications of their mutual understanding. Now the women carried this news to the king, and laughed at the unseemliness of it; whereupon Herod inquired further about it of Pheroras, and desired him to observe at supper how they behaved to one another; and he told him that by their nods and looks they were both evidently in love. After this the Arabian being suspected went away, but came again two or three months afterwards, as if on that very design, and spoke to Herod about it, and asked that Salome might be given him to wife; for he said that affinity with him might be not unprofitable to Herod through his connection with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect in his hands, and would be still more so hereafter. And when Herod discoursed with his sister about it, and asked her, whether she were disposed to the match, she quickly agreed to it. But when Syllæus was asked to conform to the Jewish religion, and then he should marry her (for it was impossible to do so on any other terms), he would not hear of it, but went his way, for he said if he should do so, he would be stoned by the Arabs. Then did Pheroras twit Salome with her lust, as did the women much more, who said that Syllæus had had connection with her. As for the damsel, whom the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, who had not taken her, as I have before stated, because he was enamoured of his wife, Salome asked Herod that she might be given to her son by Costobarus, which match Herod had no objection to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroras,

who pleaded that this young man would not be kind to her, because of the murder of his father, and that it was much more just that his son should have her, who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy. So he sued for pardon, and the king's wrath was over. And the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroras, the king giving her also as her portion a hundred talents.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Herod arrested Alexander, and put him in prison, and how Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled him to his Father Herod again.*

### § 1.

HOWEVER affairs in Herod's family grew no better, but were every day more troublesome. And the following circumstance happened, which arose from no decent occasion, and proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain eunuchs whom the king was very fond of on account of their beauty; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them, of bringing him his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who almost managed the principal affairs of the kingdom. Now some one told the king that these eunuchs had been corrupted by Alexander the king's son with great sums of money. And when Herod asked them if Alexander had had criminal dealings with them, they confessed that he had, but said they knew of no further criminality on his part against his father. But when they were tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, for the tormentors to gratify Antipater stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said that Alexander bore great ill-will and innate hatred to his father: and that he had told them, that Herod despaired of living much longer, and that in order to cover his great age, he dyed his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but if they would join him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father,

would come to no one else, they should quickly have the first place in the kingdom under him; and he was now ready to take the kingdom, not only as his birthright, but by the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends were zealous partisans of his, ready both to do and to suffer anything.

§ 2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts of it seeming to him insulting, and some making him suspicious of dangers that awaited him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some worse plot should be actually laid against him than he should be able to escape from now. So he did not any longer make any open search, but sent about spies to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overrun with suspicion and hatred against everybody, and indulging his suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continually suspected those that were innocent. Nor did he set any bounds to himself, but supposing that those who were near him had the most power to hurt him, they were his bugbears; and for those that were not used to come to him, it seemed enough generally to name them [to make them suspected], and he thought himself safer when they were at once put to death. At last his courtiers were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, imagining that he who first accused another was most likely to save himself. Yet, when any had thus overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others only thereby to anticipate being accused themselves. Nay, at last they avenged their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught they were punished in the same way, using this opportunity as an instrument and snare against their enemies, yet when they tried it often themselves caught in the same snare which they laid for others. And the king soon repented of what he had done, because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

§ 3. And in this troubled state were the affairs of the palace; and Herod had already told many of his friends not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injunction was that [when they were there] he had less freedom of action, or greater restraint on himself on their account. And at this time it was that he dismissed Andromachus and Gemellus, men who had been very old friends of his, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family in their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner the first degree of freedom with him. He dismissed Andromachus, because his son Demetrius was intimate with Alexander, and Gemellus, because he knew that he wished Alexander well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth when he was at school, and also with him when he was absent at Rome. These he expelled from his palace, and would have liked to have done worse to them; but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with depriving them of their rank and power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

§ 4. Now Antipater was the cause of all this, who when he saw the mad and licentious conduct of his father, as he had been a great while one of his counsellors, egged him on, and thought he would gain his own ends more, when everyone that could oppose him was removed out of the way. When therefore Andromachus and his friends were driven away, and had no freedom of access or speech with the king any longer, the king in the first place examined by torture all whom he thought faithful to Alexander, to see whether they knew of any plot against him; but they died under the torture without having anything to say, which made the king more furious, that he could not find out the evil proceedings he suspected. As for Antipater, he was very clever in raising calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and instigated Herod by the torture of more persons to discover any hidden plots. Now a certain person among the many that were tortured, said that he knew that Alexander had often said (when he was commended as a tall man in his body, and a

skilful marksman, and told that in his exercises he exceeded all men), that these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not advantageous to him, because his father was grieved at them, and envied him for them; so that when he walked with his father he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall, and that when he shot at anything as he was hunting, he missed his mark on purpose when his father was by, for he knew how ambitious his father was of being first in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had his body given ease after, he added, that Alexander had his brother Aristobulus as his assistant, and that they resolved to lie in wait for their father, as he was hunting, and kill him: and when they had done so, to flee to Rome, and ask to have the kingdom given to Alexander. There were also letters of the young man found written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose [yearly] revenues amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confessions Herod at once thought he had something to depend on as to his suspicion about his sons; so he arrested Alexander and put him in prison. Yet did he still continue to be uneasy, and was not quite satisfied of the truth of what he had heard; and when he considered the matter, he found that they had only exhibited juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, if his son should slay him, that he should go openly to Rome; so he was desirous to have some surer proof of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might not appear to have condemned him to be put in prison too rashly. So he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting out of them any of the things which he suspected. And as Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble, one of the young men, when he was in the utmost agony, said that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, and asked that he might be quickly invited there by Augustus, and that he could discover a plot against him, for Mithridates, the king of Parthia, was joined in a friendship with his father against the Romans;

he also added that Alexander had a poisonous potion ready prepared at Ascalon.

§ 5. To this Herod gave credit, and enjoyed thereby, in his miserable case, some sort of consolation for his rashness, in flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition. But as for the poisonous potion, though he was anxious to find it, he could find none. As for Alexander, he was desirous from a contentious spirit to aggravate the great misfortunes he was in, so he denied not the accusation, but punished the rashness of his father with a greater fault of his own; and perhaps he wished to make his father thereby ashamed of his easy belief of such calumnies: he aimed especially, if he could gain belief to his story, to plague him and his whole kingdom. For he wrote four letters, and sent them to Herod to tell him, that he need not torture any more persons, nor search any further, for he had himself plotted against him, and that he had as his partners Pheroras and the most faithful of the king's friends; and that Salome came to him by night, and lay with him against his will; and that all men were come to be of one mind to make away with the king as soon as they could, and so get rid of the continual fear of him they were in. Among others he accused Ptolemy and Sapinius, who were the most faithful friends of the king. And what more can be said, but that those who were before the most intimate friends were become wild beasts to one another, as if a certain madness had fallen upon them, and there was no room for defence or refutation, in order to the discovery of the truth, but all were at random doomed to destruction; so that some lamented those that were in prison, others those that had been put to death, others that they were in the expectation of the same miseries: and dejection and solitude rendered the kingdom quite the reverse of the happy state it formerly enjoyed. Herod's own life also was bitter to him, so greatly alarmed was he; and because he could trust nobody, he was sorely punished by the expectation of further misery, for he often fancied in his imagination, that his son had made an insurrection against him, or even stood by him with a sword in his hand. Thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and he revolved it over and over, just as if he

were distracted. Such was the sad condition Herod was now in.

§ 6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband,] and sorry for Herod as a man that was his friend, on account of the great trouble he was in, he came [to Jerusalem] on purpose to arrange matters. And when he found Herod in such a state, he thought it wholly unseasonable to reprove him, or to say that he had acted rashly, for he would thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and make him the more irritated by his having still more to apologize for himself. He went therefore another way to work, in order to improve matters, and appeared angry with the young man, and said, that Herod was so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, for he could not in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of anything, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared in this mood, far otherwise than Herod expected, and in the main angry on Herod's account, the king abated his harshness, and took occasion, from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father; and was on both sides to be pitied, for when some persons refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he fell into a passion, but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and great sorrow; and begged that he would not dissolve his son's marriage, or be so angry at his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he shifted the charges to his friends, and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one without a touch of malice, was corrupted, and thought there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon this Herod was very much displeased at Pheroras, who indeed had now no one that could reconcile him and his brother; so when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest influence with Herod, he betook himself to him in the guise of a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of a ruined man. Upon this Archelaus did not

neglect the intercession he made to him, but said that he could not change the king's disposition to him immediately, and said that it was best for him to go himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all the trouble, and beg the king's pardon, for that would mitigate the king's anger towards him, and he would be present to assist him. When he had persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them, and the calumnies raised against the young man were contrary to all expectation wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made this reconciliation between Pheroras and Herod, went away to Cappadocia, having proved at this critical juncture the most acceptable person to Herod in the world ; on which account he gave him the richest presents as tokens of his respect to him, being on all occasions magnificent, and esteemed him as one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement with him that he would go to Rome, because he had written to Augustus about these affairs, and they went together as far as Antioch. And there Herod made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus (the president of Syria), who had been greatly at variance, and then returned to Judaea.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonites; how Syllaus accused Herod before Augustus; and how Herod, when Augustus was angry with him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.*

## § 1.

WHEN Herod had been at Rome, and had come back again, a war broke out between him and the Arabians, for the following reason. The Trachonites,<sup>1</sup> after Augustus had taken their country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, were no longer permitted to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly, which was a thing they did not like: and though they took pains, the ground did not produce much profit.

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Trachonitis, *el-Lejah*.

However, from the first, the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which got Herod a great reputation for his pains; but when he sailed to Rome (it was when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit his son Antipater to Augustus' protection), the Trachonites spread a report that he was dead, and revolted from his sway, and betook themselves again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours. For the time the king's commanders subdued them during Herod's absence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by the punishment of those that had been taken, left the country, and retired into Arabia, Syllæus entertaining them now he had missed of marrying Salome, and giving them a place of strength, in which they dwelt. And they overran and pillaged not only Judæa but all Cœle-Syria also, while Syllæus afforded *points d'appui* and security to these illdoers. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had greatly suffered at their hands, and since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the security which the protection of the Arabians afforded them, being very angry at the injuries they had done him, he went over all Trachonitis, and slew their relations. Thereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means, so they continued to harry and plunder all Herod's dominions with impunity. Then did Herod speak about these robbers to Saturninus and Volumnius, and demanded that they should be punished; upon which they waxed stronger, and became more numerous, and by their rising threw everything into confusion, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and butchering men whom they took prisoners, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which Herod was sore displeased, and demanded the surrender of the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas through Syllæus, which was sixty talents, and since the time of payment was now past, he desired to have it paid him. But Syllæus, who had set

Obodas aside, and managed everything himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money: about which there was a discussion before Saturninus and Volumnius, who were then the governors of Syria. At last he, on their decision, agreed that within thirty days Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should deliver up the other's subjects. Now, as to Herod, there was not one of the other's subjects found in his kingdom, either for committing any crime or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.

§ 2. When the day appointed for payment of the money was past, Syllæus, without performing any part of his agreement, set out for Rome. So Herod demanded the payment of the money, and that the robbers that were in Arabia should be delivered up, and, by permission of Saturninus and Volumnius, took the law into his own hands against those that were refractory. He took the army that he had, and led it into Arabia; and in three days' time, by forced marches, he arrived at the garrison wherein the robbers were, and took it by storm, and captured them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raipta,<sup>1</sup> but did no harm to any others. But as the Arabians came to the assistance of the robbers, under Nacebus their captain, a battle ensued, wherein a few of Herod's soldiers, and Nacebus, the captain of the Arabians, and about twenty of his men fell, while the rest betook themselves to flight. So when Herod had punished them, he settled three thousand Idumæans in Trachonitis, and so restrained the robbers that were there. He also sent an account of these things to the captains that were in Phœnicia,<sup>2</sup> showing that he had done nothing but what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians, which, upon exact inquiry, they found to be true.

§ 3. However, messengers hurried away to Syllæus to Rome, and informed him of what had been done, and, as is usual, exaggerated everything. Now Syllæus had already wormed himself into the acquaintance of Augustus, and was then about the palace, and as soon as he heard of

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Phœnicia.

these things, he changed his dress to black, and went in, and told Augustus that Arabia was afflicted with war, and that all his kingdom was in great confusion, because of Herod's laying it waste with his army: and added, with tears in his eyes, that two thousand five hundred of the principal men among the Arabians had fallen, and that their captain Nacebus, his familiar friend and kinsman, had been slain; and that the riches that were at Raipta had been carried off; and that Obodas was despised, as his infirm state of body rendered him unfit for war; on which account neither he, nor the Arabian army, were present. When Syllæus had said this, and added invidiously that he would not himself have left the country, unless he had believed that Augustus would have provided that they should all have peace with one another, and that, had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod's advantage; Augustus was nettled at what was said, and asked only this one question, both of Herod's friends that were there, and of his own friends, who were come from Syria, "Whether Herod had led an army there?" And as they were forced to admit this, Augustus, without staying to hear why and how he did so, grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply. The sum of his letter was that, whereas of old he had treated Herod as his friend, he should now treat him as his subject. Syllæus also wrote an account of this to the Arabians. And they were so elated at it, that they neither delivered up the robbers that had fled to them, nor paid the money that was due, and retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now humiliated because of Augustus' anger with him. The inhabitants of Trachonitis also seized their opportunity, and rose up against the Idumæan garrison, and followed the same way of robbing as the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were more active in their unjust proceedings, not only for gain, but for revenge also.

§ 4. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Augustus' favour used to inspire him, and his spirit failed him. For Augustus would not so much as receive an embassage from him to

make an apology, and when the envoys came a second time, he sent them away without success. So Herod was in dejection and fear, and Syllæus grieved him exceedingly, as he was now trusted by Augustus, and was present at Rome, nay, aspired even higher. For Obodas was dead, and Æneas, whose name was now changed to Aretas,<sup>1</sup> took over the rule over the Arabians. And Syllæus endeavoured by calumnies to get him turned out of his kingdom that he might himself take it: with which design he gave much money to the courtiers, and promised much money to Augustus, who indeed was angry that Aretas had not written to him first before he took the kingdom. But Aretas afterwards himself also sent a letter and presents to Augustus, and a golden crown of the weight of many talents. And his letter accused Syllæus of having been a wicked servant, and of having killed Obodas by poison, and while he was alive, of having governed him as he pleased, and of having also debauched the wives of the Arabians, and of having borrowed money, in order to obtain the kingdom for himself. But Augustus did not listen to these accusations, but sent his ambassadors back, without receiving any of his presents. And meantime affairs in Judæa and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the disorder they were in, and partly because, bad as they were, nobody had power to bring them round. For of the two kings, the one was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient to restrain evildoers; and as for Herod, Augustus was angry with him, for having so soon avenged himself, and so he was compelled to bear all the injuries that were offered him. At last, when he saw no end of the evils which surrounded him, he resolved to send an ambassador to Rome again, to see whether through his friends he could mitigate the wrath of Augustus, and to have an interview with Augustus himself. And the ambassador he sent was Nicolaus of Damascus.

<sup>1</sup> This Aretas was now become so established a name for the kings of Arabia, that when the crown came to this Æneas, he changed his name to Aretas, as Havercamp here justly observes. See Antiq. xiii. 15, § 2.—W.

## CHAP. X.

*How Eurycles falsely accused Herod's Sons, and how their Father put them in prison, and wrote to Augustus about them. Of Syllæus, and how he was accused by Nicolaus.*

## § 1.

THE troubles in Herod's family and about his sons at this time grew much worse; for it now appeared certain, nor was it unforeseen beforehand, that fortune threatened the greatest and most insupportable misfortunes possible to his kingdom. Their progress and increase at this time was due to the following cause. One Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian (a person of note in his own country, but a man of perverse mind, and so cunning in his pleasures and flattery, as to indulge both, and yet seem to indulge neither), visited Herod's court, and made him presents, but so that he received more presents from him. He also seized such opportunities of worming himself into Herod's friendship, that he became one of the most intimate of the king's friends. He lodged in Antipater's house, but he had access to and intimacy with Alexander, for he told him that he was in great favour with Archelaus the king of Cappadocia. He also pretended much respect to Glaiphyra, and secretly cultivated a friendship with them all, but always observed what was said and done, that he might with calumnies please them all. In short, he behaved himself so to everybody as to appear to be his particular friend, and he made others believe that his associating with any one was for that person's advantage. So he won over Alexander, who was but young, and persuaded him that he might open his grievances to him with safety, but to nobody else. So he declared his grief to him, and how his father was alienated from him, and related also the affairs of his mother, and how Antiochus had driven him and his brother from their proper honour, and had the power over everything himself. He added that all this was intolerable, as his father had already come to hate them, and would neither admit them to his table, nor

to his presence. Such were the complaints, as was but natural, of Alexander, as to the things that troubled him ; and Eurycles retailed these words to Antipater : and told him, he did not inform him of them on his own account ; but that, being overcome by his kindness, the great importance of the matter obliged him to do so, and he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for what he said was spoken with vehemence, and in the words themselves lay murder. So Antipater, thinking him to be his friend by this advice, gave him great presents upon all occasions, and at last persuaded him to inform Herod of this. So when he related to the king Alexander's displeasure, as discovered by the words he had heard him speak, he was easily believed, and brought the king to that pass, turning him about by his words and irritating him, that he made his hatred implacable : as he showed at that very time, for he immediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty talents. And he, when he had received them, went to Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and commended Alexander to him, and told him that he had been many ways useful to him in making reconciliation between him and his father. So he got money from him also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out ; and when Eurycles returned to Lacedæmon, he did not leave off mischief making, and at last for his many acts of injustice was banished from his own country.

§ 2. As for Herod, he was not now in the temper he was in formerly towards Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been content with only hearing calumnies of them when others told him, for he was now come to that pass of hatred as to urge men to speak against them, though they did not do it of themselves. He also observed all that was said, and put questions, and gave ear to everyone that would but speak, if they could but say anything against them, till at length he heard that Euaratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander, which news was to Herod the most agreeable and sweetest imaginable.

§ 3. But a still greater misfortune came upon the young men, for new calumnies against them were continually being fabricated, and, so to speak, as if it was everyone's task to lay some grievous thing to their charge, which

might appear to be for the king's safety. There were two body-guards of Herod held in honour for their strength and height, Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased with them, and now used to ride with Alexander, and for their skill in their exercises were held in honour by him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed upon them. Now the king having at once suspicion of these men, had them tortured, and they endured the torture courageously for a long time, but at last confessed that Alexander urged them to kill Herod when he was hunting wild beasts; for it could be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for he had once met with such a misfortune formerly. They also showed where there was money hidden in a stable under ground, and convicted the king's chief hunter of having given them the royal hunting spears, and weapons to Alexander's attendants, at Alexander's command.

§ 4. Next to these the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium<sup>1</sup> was arrested and tortured; for he was accused of having promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with money of the king which was stored up in that fortress. He confessed nothing himself; but his son came forward, and said it was so, and delivered up a letter which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander's hand-writing. Its contents were as follows. "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you: but endeavour, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." After this writing was produced, Herod had no longer any doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said that Diophantus the scribe had imitated his hand-writing, and that the letter was a forgery of Antipater. For Diophantus appeared to be very clever in such practices, and was afterwards convicted of forging other papers, and therefore put to death.

§ 5. And the king produced before the multitude at Jericho those that had been tortured, in order to have them accuse the young men; and many of the people

<sup>1</sup> *Kefr Istūna.*

stoned these accusers to death. But when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do so, but restrained the multitude by the help of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, and nobody might any longer have access to them: and all that they did or said was observed, and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from that of condemned criminals. And one of them, Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he induced Salome, who was his aunt and mother-in-law, to sympathize with him in his calamities, and to hate him who had been persuaded to let things come to that pass; when he said to her, "Are not you also in danger of destruction, as the report goes that you disclosed beforehand all our affairs to Syllaus, when you were in hopes of being married to him?" But she immediately carried these words to her brother. And he, being no longer able to control his rage, gave command to bind them and keep them apart from one another, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and send them on to Augustus. And when this was enjoined them, they wrote that they had laid no treacherous design, nor formed any plot against their father, but that they had intended to flee away, and that from the distress they were in, their lives being now suspected and full of anxiety.

§ 6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia<sup>1</sup> from Archelaus, one Melas, who was a ruler under him. And Herod wishing to show Archelaus' ill-will to him, sent for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and asked him again concerning their proposed flight, as to whither and how they had resolved to flee? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them thence to Rome, but that they had no wicked nor mischievous designs against their father, and that none of the charges fabricated against them by their adversaries was true; and that they wished Tyrannus and his associates were yet alive that they might have been examined more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by means

<sup>1</sup> The portion of Asia Minor lying west of the Anti-Taurus range. The principal town was Mazaca, Cæsarea, *Kaisariyeh*.

of Antipater, who put his own friends among the multitude [for that purpose.]”

§ 7. When he had said this, Herod commanded that both Alexander and Melas should be carried to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, and that she should be asked whether she did not know anything of plots against Herod? Now as soon as they came to her, and she saw Alexander in bonds, she beat her head, and in great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man also fell into tears. This was so miserable a sight to those present, that, for a great while, they were not able to say or do anything; but at last Ptolemy, who had been ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say, if his wife were privy to his actions? He replied, “How is it possible, that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?” Upon which she cried out, that “she knew of no wicked designs of his; but yet, if accusing herself falsely would tend to his preservation, she would confess all.” Then Alexander said, “There is no such wickedness as those (who ought least to do so) suspect, which either I have intended, or you know of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome.” And when she also confessed this, Herod, supposing that Archelaus’ ill-will to him was fully proved, gave a letter to Olympus and Volumnius, and bade them, as they sailed by, to touch at Elæusa<sup>1</sup> in Cilicia, and give it to Archelaus, and when they had expostulated with him for having a hand in his sons’ plot against him, to sail thence to Rome; and if they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Augustus was no longer displeased with Herod, to give him the letters and proofs which he sent ready prepared against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, that he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father’s advantage to do so, lest he should take some violent step in the anger he was in because of his present suspicions; but that he had not promised to send them to Augustus, nor had he promised anything else to the young men that could show ill-will to him.

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xvi. 4, § 6; Jewish War, i. 23, § 4.

§ 8. When Olympus and Volumnius reached Rome, they had a good opportunity of delivering their letters to Augustus, because they found him reconciled to Herod. For Nicolaus' embassage had gone off as follows. As soon as he was come to Rome, and was about the court, he did not first only set about what he was come for, but he thought fit also to accuse Syllæus. Now the Arabians, even before he came to talk with them, openly quarrelled with one another, and some of them left Syllæus' party, and joined themselves to Nicolaus', and informed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and showed him evident proofs of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas' friends by Syllæus, for when they left Syllæus' party, they had carried off with them letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity offered him, he made use of it in order to gain his own ends afterwards, being anxious to reconcile Augustus and Herod. For he knew very well that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod's acts, he would not be allowed that liberty; but that, if he desired to accuse Syllæus, an opportunity would present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf. So when the case was ready for hearing, and the day appointed, Nicolaus, in the presence of Aretas' ambassadors, accused Syllæus of various other things, and imputed to him the destruction of his king and of many others of the Arabians, and said he had borrowed money for no good purpose, and proved that he had been guilty of adultery, not only with women in Arabia but in Rome also. And he added, as the heaviest charge, that he had estranged Augustus from Herod, having said nothing true about the actions of Herod. When Nicolaus was come to this point, Augustus stopped him from going on, and desired him only to say as to Herod that he had not led an army into Arabia, nor slain two thousand five hundred men there, nor taken prisoners, nor pillaged the country. To this Nicolaus answered that he could prove conclusively that either none at all or but very few of those imputations of which he had been informed were true, for had they been true, he might justly have been angry at Herod. At this unexpected assertion Augustus was very attentive, and Nicolaus said, that there

was a debt due to Herod of five hundred talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed for payment had elapsed, it should be lawful to make reprisals in any part of the country. As for the expedition into Arabia, he said it was no hostile expedition, but a just demanding back of his own money, and that not immediately, nor so soon as the bond allowed, but that Herod had frequently gone to Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria; and that at last Syllæus had sworn at Berytus,<sup>1</sup> by the Emperor's fortune, that he would certainly pay the money within thirty days, and deliver up those that had fled from Herod's dominions. "And when Syllæus performed nothing of this, Herod went again before those governors, and upon their permission to make reprisals for the money, he went reluctantly out of his own dominions with a party of soldiers for that purpose. And this is all the war which these men so tragically describe; this was the expedition into Arabia. And how can this be called a war, when thy governors permitted it, and the bond allowed it, and it was not executed till thy name, O Cæsar Augustus, with that of the other gods, had been profaned? And now I must speak in order about the captives. There were robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis;<sup>2</sup> at first their number was no more than forty, but they became more numerous afterwards, and they escaped the punishment Herod would have inflicted on them, by making Arabia their head-quarters. Syllæus received them, and supported them with food to the detriment of all men, and gave them a country to inhabit, and received himself the gains they made by robbery. But he promised on oath that he would deliver up these men on the day that he fixed for payment of his debt; nor can he show that any other persons besides these were at this time taken out of Arabia, and indeed not all these either, but only so many as could not conceal themselves. And thus does the odious calumny of the captives appear to be no better than a fiction and lie, made on purpose to provoke thy indignation. For I say, that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, Herod only defended

<sup>1</sup> *Beirüt* in Syria.

<sup>2</sup> The district *el-Lejah*.

himself, and Nacebus the Arabian general fell, and about twenty-five others in all, and no more ; whereas Syllæus, by multiplying every single soldier by a hundred, reckons the slain to have been two thousand five hundred."

§ 9. This speech greatly moved Augustus, and he turned to Syllæus full of rage, and asked him how many Arabians had been slain ? And as he hesitated, and said he had been imposed upon, the conditions about the borrowed money were read, and the letters of the governors of Syria, and the complaints of all the cities that had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion of the matter was this, that Syllæus was condemned to die, and that Augustus was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for the severe things he had written to him occasioned by calumny, and told Syllæus that he had induced him by his lying account to be guilty of ingratitude to a man that was his friend. In fine Syllæus was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be executed. But Augustus was still offended with Aretas, that he had taken upon himself the kingdom, without his consent being first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod ; but the letters Herod had sent hindered him from doing so now. For Olympus and Volumnius, on finding that Augustus was now become favourable to Herod, thought fit immediately to deliver him the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons and the proofs of their crimes. When Augustus had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another kingdom to him, now he was old, and on bad terms with his sons, so he admitted Aretas' ambassadors ; and after he had just reproved his rashness, in not waiting till he received the kingdom from him, he accepted his presents, and confirmed him in his kingdom.

## CHAP. XI.

*How Herod, by Permission of Augustus, accused his sons before a Council of Judges at Berytus; and what Tero suffered for using too much Liberty of Speech. Concerning also the Execution of the young Men, and their Burial at Alexandrium.*

## § 1.

AND Augustus being now reconciled to Herod wrote to him that he was grieved for him on account of his sons, and said if they had been guilty of any grave crimes against him, it would behove him to punish them as parricides (and he gave him authority to do so), but if they had only designed to flee away, he would have him give them an admonition, and not proceed to extremities with them. He also advised him to appoint and convene a council at Berytus, where the Romans had a colony, and to include the governors of *Syria* and Archelaus the king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought remarkable for their merit and friendship to him, and determine what should be done by their advice. These were the directions that Augustus gave. And Herod, when the letter was brought to him, was very glad of Augustus' reconciliation to him, and very glad also that he had complete authority given him over his sons. And somehow it happened that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed shown himself severe, he had not been very rash or precipitate in procuring the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to glut his hatred against them. He therefore sent round and invited whom he thought fit to this council, except Archelaus, for he would not invite him, either out of hatred to him, or because he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs.

§ 2. When the governors of *Syria* and the others whom he invited from the various cities were come to Berytus, he kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidon, called

Platana,<sup>1</sup> but near Berytus, that if they were called he might produce them, for he did not think fit to bring them before the council. And when there were one hundred and fifty persons present, Herod came in by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way as if it were not a melancholy accusation, and painful necessity in consequence of misfortune, but in such a way as was very indecent for a father to accuse his sons in. For he was very vehement and impassioned when he came to the demonstration of the crime they were accused of, and gave the greatest signs of fury and barbarity: nor would he suffer the council to judge of the weight of the evidence, but played the part of advocate himself in a manner most indecent in a father against his sons, and read what they had written, wherein there was no mention of any plot or contrivance against him, but only a confession that they had meant to flee away, containing also certain reproaches against him because of the ill-will he bore them. And when he came to those reproaches, he bellowed out most of all, and exaggerated what was said, as if they had confessed plotting against him, and swore that he would rather lose his life than hear such words. Lastly he said that he had sufficient authority both by nature and by Augustus' permission [to do what he thought fit.] He also mentioned a law of their country which enjoined that, if parents laid their hands on the head of him that was accused, the bystanders were obliged to cast stones at him, and so to kill him. But though he was ready to do this in his own country and kingdom, yet he said he waited for their determination; though they came not thither so much as judges, to condemn his sons for such manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished, but as persons who had an opportunity of joining him in his anger, for it was unworthy in any, even the most remote, to pass over such conspiracy [without punishment.]

§ 3. When the king had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence for themselves, the members of the council perceived there was no

<sup>1</sup> See Jewish War, i. 27, § 2. Apparently a castle guarding a narrow pass between the sea and Lebanon, near the river Damuras, *Nahr Damûr*.

chance of mildness and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority. And Saturninus, a person who had been consul, and one of great influence, first pronounced his sentence, but with great moderation and considering the circumstances. He said, “That he condemned Herod’s sons, but did not think they should be put to death. He had sons of his own, and to put one’s son to death was a greater misfortune than any that could befall one by them.” After him Saturninus’ sons (for he had three sons that accompanied him, and were his lieutenants) pronounced the same sentence as their father. Volumnius’ sentence, on the contrary, was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and most of the rest said the same, insomuch that the conclusion was that the young men were condemned to die. Immediately afterwards Herod went away from thence, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nicolaus met him, having sailed back from Rome; of whom Herod inquired, after he had related to him what had passed at Berytus, what his friends at Rome thought about his sons. He answered, “What they had resolved to do to thee is impious, and thou oughtest to keep them in prison: and if thou thinkest anything further necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them, that thou appear not to indulge thy anger more than to govern thyself by judgment; but if thou inclinest to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable; and this is the opinion of most of thy friends at Rome.” On this Herod was silent and very thoughtful, and bade Nicolaus sail along with him.

§ 4. On Herod’s reaching Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> everybody there was talking of his sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation as to what would become of them. For a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the old dissensions of the family should come to a sad conclusion, and they were in great anxiety about their sufferings; nor was it without danger to say any hasty thing about the matter, or even to hear another saying it; but men’s pity was forced to be shut up in themselves, which made their

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisarîyeh.*

sorrow silent. But there was an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero (who had a son of the same age as Alexander, and his friend), who was so bold as openly to speak out what others silently thought about the matter, and felt forced to cry out often among the multitude, saying in the most unguarded manner that truth had perished, and that justice was taken away from men, and that lies and malice prevailed, and brought such a mist upon public affairs, that offenders were not able to see the greatest ills that could befall men. And as he was so bold, he seemed to bring himself into danger by speaking so freely; but the reasonableness of what he said moved men to regard him as having behaved with great courage and seasonably. So every one heard what he said with pleasure; and although they provided for their own safety by keeping silent themselves, yet did they approve of the great freedom he took; for the expected tragedy constrained them to speak in behalf of Tero whatever they pleased.

§ 5. This man thrust himself into the king's presence with the greatest freedom, and desired to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, when he spoke as follows. "Since I am not able, O king, to bear the great concern I am in, I have preferred the use of this bold liberty that I now take (which is necessary and advantageous to you) to my own safety. Where is your understanding gone, and left your soul empty? Where is that extraordinary sagacity of yours gone, whereby you performed so many and such glorious actions? Whence comes this absence of friends and relations, though I judge those neither friends nor relations who overlook such horrid wickedness in your once happy kingdom. Do you not perceive what is doing? Will you slay these two young men, your sons by your queen, who are proficients in every virtue, and leave yourself destitute in your old age, and in the power of one son, who has very ill sustained the confidence placed in him, and to relations whose death you have so often resolved on yourself? Will you not take notice that the silence of the multitude at once sees the crime and abhors the case, and that the whole army and its officers have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are

the authors of this?" The king heard these words, and for some time with good temper. But what can one say? When Tero plainly touched upon the tragedy and the perfidiousness of Herod's domestics, he was moved at it: but when Tero went on further, and by degrees used an unbounded military freedom of speech, (for he was too boorish to accommodate himself to the occasion,) Herod was greatly vexed, and seeming to be rather reproached by his speech, than to be hearing what was for his advantage, as he learned thereby that the soldiers abhorred what he was about, and the officers were indignant at it, he gave orders that all whom Tero had named, and Tero himself, should be bound and kept in prison.

§ 6. When this was done, one Trypho, who was the king's barber, took the opportunity, and came and told the king, that Tero often urged him, when he shaved the king, to cut his throat with the razor, for so he should be among the chief of Alexander's friends, and receive great rewards from him. When he had said this, the king gave orders that Tero and his son and the barber should be tortured, which was done accordingly. And though Tero bore up himself, his son seeing his father already in a sad case, and without hope of deliverance, and perceiving what would be the consequence of his terrible sufferings, said that if the king would free him and his father from those torments for what he should say, he would tell the truth. And when the king had given his word to do so, he said that there was an agreement made, that Tero should lay violent hands on the king, because it was easy for him to approach him when he was alone; and if, when he had done so, he should suffer death for it, as was not unlikely, it would be an act of generosity done on behalf of Alexander. This was what Tero's son said, and thereby freed his father from the torture, but it is uncertain whether he had been thus forced by the torture to speak what was true, or whether it was a contrivance of his own to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their pain.

§ 7. As for Herod, if he had before any doubt about putting his sons to death, there was now no longer any room left in his soul for it; but as he had rejected whatever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning

better about the matter, so he made haste at once to bring his purpose to a conclusion. He therefore brought three hundred of the officers that were accused, as also Tero and his son, and the barber that accused them, before an assembly, and brought charges against them all; and the multitude stoned them with whatever came to hand, and so killed them. Alexander also and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste<sup>1</sup> by their father's command, and there strangled; and their dead bodies were carried by night to Alexandrium, where their uncle on the mother's side, and most of their ancestors, had been buried.

§ 8. And now perhaps it may not seem strange to some that such a long-standing hatred should so grow, and proceed so far as to overcome nature: but it may justly deserve consideration, whether it is to be laid to the charge of the young men, that they gave such a handle to their father's anger, and led him to do what he did, and by going on long in the same way made things past remedy, and caused him to use them so unmercifully; or whether it is to be laid to the father's charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very greedy in the desire of power and of other kinds of glory, that he would take no one into partnership with him, that so whatever he wished might be law; or indeed, whether Fortune has not greater power than all prudent forecasting, whence we are persuaded that human actions are determined beforehand by her by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her. However, I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion with that other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not unaccountable for the perversity of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical view of our ancient law. As to the other two causes of this sad event, anybody may partly lay the blame on the young men, who under the influence of youthful vanity, and pride at their royal birth, listened to the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not kindly judges of the actions of his life, but ill-natured in suspecting, and intemperate in

<sup>1</sup> *Sebustich.*

speaking of them, and so on both accounts easily led away by those who observed them, and informed of them to gain favour. However, their father cannot be thought worthy of excuse as to his impiety to them, seeing that, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and without any proofs that they had made preparation for such an attempt, he had the heart to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies and the great darlings of all other men, and no way deficient in their pursuits, whether hunting, or warlike exercises, or speaking upon occasional topics. For in all these things they were skilful, and especially Alexander, who was the eldest. And certainly it would have been sufficient, even though Herod had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to have let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, as he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, and would prevent his suffering anything from either a sudden attack or from open force. But for him to kill them so quickly, in order to gratify a passion that mastered him, was a proof of excessive impiety; especially as he was guilty of so great a crime in his old age. Nor will the delay that he made, and the late time in which the crime was done, plead at all for his excuse. For when a man is taken by surprise and moved to commit a wicked action, although it be a grave crime, yet it is a thing that is always happening; but to do it deliberately, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent delays, to undertake and accomplish it at last, was the action of a murderous mind, and one not easily moved from what is evil. Moreover Herod showed this temper in what he did afterwards, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, in regard to whom, though the justice of their punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man as great, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter either. But of these persons I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

## BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.—FROM  
THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE  
BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

## CHAP. I.

*How Antipater was hated by all the Nation for the Death of his Brothers ; and how, for that Reason, he courted his Friends at Rome, by giving them many Presents ; as he did also to Saturninus, the Governor of Syria, and to others. Also concerning Herod's Wives and Children.*

## § 1.

WHEN Antipater had thus got rid of his brothers, and brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted by the Furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind as to his future. For although he was delivered from the fear of his brothers being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation was become very great against him. And besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the alienation of the soldiers from him grieved him still more, for these kings derived from them all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation ; and he had drawn all this danger upon himself by his destruction of his brothers. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already ; and he was the more trusted by Herod and got his greater good-will for what it would have been well for him to have been put to death, as he seemed to have informed against his brothers from his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and still more to his father himself. Such was the accursed state he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended

to pave the way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising, and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him assistance, if Antipater became his open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brothers were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. And at this time he was more than ever set upon the carrying out of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the kingdom would now be firmly secured to him; but, if Herod were to live any longer, he would himself be in danger upon discovery of the wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And so he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order so to take off men's hatred against him. He also sent great presents to his friends especially at Rome, to gain their good-will, and above all to Saturninus, the governor of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus' brother by the large presents he bestowed on him; and also used the same treatment to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And as he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very clever in gaining their belief, and very cunning in hiding his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who had understood him a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, as she had already used every possible caution to prevent his malicious designs. And although Antipater's maternal uncle had married her daughter, and that by Antipater's contrivance and management, as she had before been married to Aristobulus, while Salome's other daughter was married to Callias the son of her husband, yet that marriage was no obstacle to her discovering his wicked designs, any more than her former relationship to him could prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, when she was in love with Syllæus the Arabian, and had a great fondness for him, to marry Alexas, which match was arranged by Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest there should be open enmity between the brother and sister, as Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with

Salome, if she would not accept Alexas for her husband. And she listened to Julia as being the Emperor's wife, and also because she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her advantage. At this time, also, Herod sent back king Archelaus' daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

§ 2. Now Herod himself brought up his sons' children with very great care; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons and two daughters by Berenice, Salome's daughter; and once when his friends were with him, he produced the children before them, and deplored the fortune of his own sons, prayed that no such ill fortune might befall their children, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and so might make him return for his care of their education. He also promised them in marriage when they should come to the proper age, the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras' daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobulus' son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus' daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus' other daughter to Herod, a son of his own by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have several wives at the same time. Now, the king made these betrothals for the children out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to continue in the same temper of mind to his brothers' children as he had been in to his brothers themselves; and his father's affection for them irritated him, as he thought that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been, especially when they came to men's estate, as Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would have one of the daughters as wife for his son. What provoked him further was that all the multitude commiserated these fatherless children, and so hated him, and he feared that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his malignity to his brothers. He manœuvred, therefore, to upset his

father's arrangements, thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be powerful. And Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty: and the arrangement now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus' daughter, and Antipater's son Pheroras' daughter. And the betrothals were changed in this manner against the king's real wishes.

§ 3. Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives, one of them Antipater's mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter, but these two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, and her sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and her daughter Olympias, who afterwards married Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up at the house of a certain private man at Rome. Herod also had as wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had Herod and Philip, which last was also brought up at Rome. Pallas also was another of his wives, who bore him a son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for wives Phaedra and Elpis, by whom he had two daughters, Roxane and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother as Alexander and Aristobolus, and whom Pheroras had refused to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son. And this was the posterity of Herod.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Babylonian Jew Zamaris. Also concerning the Plots laid by Antipater against his Father. Also about the Pharisees.*

### § 1.

AND now Herod, being desirous of securing himself against the Trachonites, resolved to build a village as large as a city for the Jews between him and them, which might make his own country difficult of access, and which he might make a *point d'appui* to make sudden sallies

upon the enemy from a short distance, and so do them a mischief. So when he heard that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylonia with five hundred horsemen (all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback) who with a hundred of his relations had crossed over the Euphrates, and now dwelt at Antioch near Daphne in Syria, where Saturninus, who was then governor of Syria, had given them a place to dwell in called Valatha, he sent for this man and his companions, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanæa, which is bounded by Trachonitis, wishing to make his settlement a *point d'appui* against the enemy. He also promised to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell there without paying any such customs as used to be paid, and gave it them tax free.

§ 2. This Babylonian was induced by these offers to settle there, and took possession of the land, and built fortresses in it and a village, which he called Bathyra.<sup>1</sup> And he became a protection to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and also kept those Jews who came out of Babylon to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem from being hurt by the Trachonite robbers; so that many came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people because of the universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took over the government, he made them pay a few taxes, but for a little while only; and although Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, harassed them greatly, yet they would not take their liberty away. And though the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands from them, they still give them the privilege of their freedom, and oppress them merely with the imposition of taxes. But I shall treat these matters more fully in the progress of this history.

§ 3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died, having lived virtuously, and left good children behind him, one of whom was Jacimus, who was famous for his valour, and

<sup>1</sup> *el-Bethirra*; probably the same place as Bathora, one of the Roman military stations east of Jordan.

taught the Babylonians under him how to ride their horses, and a troop of them were body-guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacimus died in old age, he left a son whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any one; so that there was a firm friendship and lasting good-will between him and king Agrippa; and whatever army the king kept he constantly trained and led wherever they had occasion to march.

§ 4. The affairs of Herod being in the condition I have described, everything depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do what he pleased, by his father's concession, who believed in his good-will and fidelity to himself, and he ventured to use his powers still further, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe everything he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much because of the power and authority he had as for his cunning malice; and Pheroras especially paid court to him, and received the like friendship in return. And Antipater had cunningly surrounded him by a company of women, whom he placed about him; for Pheroras was completely under the influence of his wife, and her mother, and her sister; and that notwithstanding the hatred he bore them for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he put up with them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got round this man, and continued still to assist each other in all things, so that Antipater was entirely under their influence, owing both to himself and his mother, for these four women<sup>1</sup> all said the same thing; and the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater only differed in a few points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had pried into all their affairs, and knew that this friendship of theirs was made in order to do Herod some harm, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And as they knew that their friendship did not please Herod, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered, and pretended to hate one another, and

<sup>1</sup> Pheroras' wife, and her mother and sister, and Doris, Antipater's mother.—W.

abused one another as time and opportunity allowed, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him ; but their intimacy was greater than ever in secret. This was the course they took ; but they could not conceal from Salome either their contrivance when first they set about this plan, or when they had made some progress in it, but she searched out everything ; and, exaggerating the matter to her brother, disclosed to him their secret meetings and compotations, and counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, might well enough have been open and public. And though to appearance they were at variance, and spoke about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, they agreed well enough together when they were out of the sight of people ; for when they were alone by themselves, they acted in concert, and professed that they would never leave off their friendship, but would fight against those from whom they concealed their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them ; who was himself aware of a great deal of what she said, but still durst not act upon it, because of the suspicion he had that much of his sister's tales was calumny. Now there was a certain sect of Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the strict observance of the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, and had great influence over women. They were called Pharisees, and ventured even to oppose kings. They were a cunning set, and prompt to open fighting and mischief. And when all the rest of the Jewish people gave assurance by oath of their good-will to the Emperor and to the king's government, these very men would not swear, who were more than six thousand ; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras' wife paid the fine for them. And they to requite that kindness of hers (for they were believed to have fore-knowledge of things to come by divine inspiration) foretold that God had decreed that Herod's sway should cease, and that his posterity should be deprived of it, and that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras and their children. These predictions (for they were not concealed from Salome) were told the king ; as also how they had cor-

rupted some persons about the palace itself: and the king slew such of the Pharisees as were chiefly accused, and the eunuch Bagoas, and one Carus the royal catamite, who excelled all his contemporaries in beauty. He slew also those of his own household who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold. As for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them as though he should be called father and benefactor of him who was by the prediction to be their king: for this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry and beget children.

### CHAP. III.

*Of the Enmity between Herod and Pheroras; how Herod sent Antipater to Augustus; and of the Death of Pheroras.*

#### § 1.

WHEN Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of these crimes, he gathered together an assembly of his friends, and accused Pheroras' wife; and ascribing the outrages done to the virgins to the audacity of the woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon him. He added that she had stirred up strife between him and his brother, and had by her ill temper brought them into a state of war, to the best of her power, both by her words and actions; and that the fines which he had imposed had not been paid, for the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her. "And so Pheroras will do well, if he will, of his own accord, and at his own initiative, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of strife between us. And now Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away; for so thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras, (although moved by the force of Herod's words,) that he would neither do so unjust a thing as renounce his brotherly relation to him, nor leave off his

affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than live and be deprived of a wife that was so dear to him. Thereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he exacted a severe punishment, for he forbade Antipater and his mother to associate with Pheroras, and bade them take care to avoid the assemblies of the women: which they promised to do, but still got together when an opportunity presented itself, and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal connection with Pheroras' wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

§ 2. But Antipater was now suspicious of his father, and afraid that his hatred to him would increase: so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bade them signify to Herod, that he was to send Antipater without delay to Augustus. And Herod did this, and sent most handsome presents with Antipater, as also his testament, wherein he appointed Antipater to be his successor: and if Antipater should die first, Herod his son by the high priest's daughter was to succeed. And Syllæus the Arabian went with Antipater to Rome, though he had done nothing of all that Augustus had enjoined, and Antipater accused him of the same crimes as he had been formerly accused of by Nicolaus. Syllæus was also accused by Aretas of having without his consent slain many of the chief Arabians at Petra, and particularly Sohemus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men, and of having slain Fabatus a slave of Augustus. Syllæus was also accused on the following account. Corinthus was one of Herod's body-guards, and greatly trusted by him. Syllæus had tempted this man by the offer of a great sum of money to kill Herod, and he had promised to do so. When Fabatus learnt of this, for Syllæus himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; and he had Corinthus arrested and put to the torture, and so wormed the whole conspiracy out of him. He also got two other Arabians arrested, trusting to the information of Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend of Syllæus, who were both put by the king to the torture, and confessed that they had come to encourage Corinthus not to fail in courage, and to assist him with their own hands in the

murder, if need should require their assistance. And Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole matter to him, sent them to Rome.

§ 3. Herod also commanded Pheroras, since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, to retire to his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and swore many oaths that he would not come back again, till he heard that Herod was dead. Indeed, when Herod was ill, and Pheroras was asked to come to him before he died, that he might entrust him with some injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him. But Herod did not imitate Pheroras in his conduct, but changed his purpose [not to see him,] which he before had, and as soon as Pheroras began to be ill, went to him without being sent for. And when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. Now this [death of Pheroras] became the beginning of Antipater's misfortunes, although he had already sailed for Rome, God being now about to punish him for the murder of his brothers. I shall narrate this matter very fully, that it may be a warning to mankind, that they take care to conduct their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

## CHAP. IV.

*Pheroras' Wife is accused by his Freedmen of poisoning him; and how Herod, upon examining the Matter by Torture, found the Poison; but also that it had been prepared for himself by his son Antipater; and how, upon Inquiry by Torture, he discovered the dangerous Designs of Antipater.*

### § 1.

A S soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pheroras' freedmen, who were much esteemed by him, went to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother unavenged, but to examine into the cause of his strange and unhappy death. As he was moved by these words, for they seemed to him to be true,

they said that Pheroras had supped with his wife the day before he fell ill, and that a certain potion was brought him in a kind of food he was not used to eat, and that when he had eaten it he died of it; that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, nominally as a love potion, (for it was called a philter,) but in reality to kill Pheroras; for the Arabian women were skilful in making such poisons, and the woman to whom they ascribed this, was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Syllæus' mistresses, and both the mother and sister of Pheroras' wife had been to the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion, and had returned with it the day before Pheroras' last supper. At these words the king was exasperated, and put the women slaves and also some free women to the torture, and as the matter was by no means clear, because none of them would speak out, at last one of them, after suffering extreme agonies, said no more but that she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the cause of these miseries to all of them. This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: the merry-makings, the secret meetings, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone unto Pheroras' women.<sup>1</sup> (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal, was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any dealings with Pheroras.) It also came out what hatred Antipater bore to his father, and how he complained to his mother how very long his father lived, and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch, that if the kingdom ever came to him, it would not afford him the same pleasure; and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brothers' children, being reared in hopes of the kingdom, as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain; and even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordered that the kingdom should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on his brother. He had also accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons, and had said that it was the fear he was in, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive his

<sup>1</sup> His wife, her mother and sister.—W.

journey to Rome, and made Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy.

§ 2. All this tallied with what Herod's sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of unfaithfulness to him. And the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as Antipater himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras' women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son was one Antipater, a Samaritan, the steward of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, said among other things that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, bidding him give it to his father during his own absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him as to it : and that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought the potion out of Egypt, and that it was sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of the king's son Antipater, and so came to Pheroras' wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king questioned her about it, she confessed, and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top, but did not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet. And so, when the king comforted her, and promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him, but threatened her with the utmost tortures if she obstinately determined to conceal anything, she promised and swore that she would speak out and tell how everything was done ; and said what most took to be entirely true. "The potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus, and his brother, who is a physician, procured it ; and when Theudion brought it us, I kept it upon Pheroras' committing it to me, and it was prepared by Antipater for you. So when Pheroras was fallen ill, and you came to him and took care of him, and when he saw the kindness you had to him, his mind was broken thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me; 'Antipater has deluded me, wife, in this affair of his father and my brother, by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and

procuring a potion for that purpose. Go therefore and fetch the potion, (since my brother appears to have still the same kind disposition to me as he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself), and, that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother, burn it before my face : ' and I immediately brought it, and did as my husband bade me, and burnt most of the potion, but left a little of it, that if the king, after Pheroras' death, should treat me ill, I might poison myself, and so get rid of my miseries.' Upon her saying this, she brought out the potion, and the box it was in, before them all. And another brother of Antiphilus, and his mother also, under the agony of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and recognised the box. The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused of having been privy to all this, and of having resolved to conceal it ; so Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one to reign after him ; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

§ 3. Meantime Bathyllus, Antipater's freedman, also came from Rome, and upon being tortured, was found to have brought another potion, to give to Antipater's mother and to Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the advice and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths ; and as if they concluded, because they were sent for home (for their father had already recalled them), that they themselves were also to be put to death. These letters were concocted for great rewards by Antipater's friends. And Antipater himself also wrote to his father about Archelaus and Philip, and laid the heaviest things to their charge ; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, for he said they were but striplings, and so imputed their words to their youth. He added that he had himself been very busy in the affair

relating to Syllaeus, and in paying court to great men, and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them with, which had cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, while so many accusations were laid against Antipater in Judæa for seven months before this, that he was not made acquainted with any of them. The explanation of this is that the roads were carefully guarded, and that men hated Antipater: for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to procure Antipater's safety.

## CHAP. V.

*Antipater sails Home from Rome to his Father; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then Governor of Syria; and how he was imprisoned till the Emperor should decide on the Case.*

### § 1.

NOW Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and as he was to do it, he would soon return, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bade him not delay his journey, lest any harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaints about Antipater's mother, but promised that he would drop those complaints on Antipater's return. He also expressed his entire affection for him, fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey home, and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should plot for the kingdom, and do him some harm. Antipater got this letter in Cilicia, but had received an account of Pheroras' death before at Tarentum,<sup>1</sup> which news affected him deeply, not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he had died without having murdered Herod, as he had promised to do. And when he was at Celenderis<sup>2</sup> in Cilicia, he began

<sup>1</sup> Taranto in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Kilindria, on the south coast of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus.

to deliberate whether he should sail home, as he was much put out at the banishment of his mother. Now, some of his friends advised him to tarry a while and wait for further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay, for if he were once arrived there, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and nothing now afforded any weight to his accusers but his absence. He was persuaded by these last and set sail, and landed at the haven called Sebastus,<sup>1</sup> which Herod had built at vast expense, and called Sebastus in honour of Cæsar Augustus.<sup>2</sup> And now Antipater was evidently in a sorry plight, as nobody came to him or saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now anything to hinder the people from receiving him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, as they supposed he was come to receive punishment for the murder of his brothers.

§ 2. Now, Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus as governor of Syria, and was come as an adviser to Herod, who had asked his advice in the present state of affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came in, without knowing anything of the matter; so he entered the palace clothed in purple. The porters received him indeed in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great alarm, and clearly perceived the position he was in, for upon going to salute his father he was repulsed by him, and Herod called him a murderer of his brothers, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should hear everything and be his judge the very next day. So he found that the misfortune he now first heard of was already upon him, the greatness of which dismayed him, and his mother and wife soon had an interview with him (his wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod), from whom he learned everything, and prepared for his defence.

§ 3. The following day Varus and the king sat together in judgment, and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, and his sister Salome, and as many as could discover anything, and all those who had

<sup>1</sup> The harbour of Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisarlyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Sebastus would be Greek for Augustus.

been tortured ; and besides these, some slaves of Antipater's mother, who had been arrested a little before Antipater's coming, having on them a letter, the sum of which was that Antipater was not to return home, as all was come to his father's knowledge, and that Augustus was the only refuge he had left to prevent both him and her falling into Herod's hands. Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudge his case, but that his father would first hear him, and not decide against him except upon evidence. Then Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then lamented that he had had children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes before, and now Antipater plotted against him in his old age. He also touched on the maintenance and education he had given his sons, and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them as they desired, though none of those favours had hindered them from plotting against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom in an impious manner, by taking away his life before either the course of nature, or their father's wishes, or justice, required that the kingdom should come to them. As to Antipater, he wondered what hopes could bring him to such a pass as to be bold enough to attempt such things ; for he had by his testament declared him in writing his successor in the kingdom, and while he was alive he was in no respect inferior to him either in his splendid dignity or in power and authority, as he had no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no less than thirty talents. He also accused him as to his brothers, saying if they were guilty he had imitated their example, and if they were innocent, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations ; for he had been informed of all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what he had done by his advice, and he now absolved them from all that was criminal, as he had become the inheritor of the guilt of their parricide.

§ 4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a-weeping, and was not able to say any more ; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, who was the king's friend, and very intimate with him, and well acquainted with all his affairs,

proceeded to what remained, and stated all that concerned the proofs and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in his defence, turned to his father, and enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good-will to him ; and enumerated the honours that had been done himself, which would not have been done, had he not deserved them by his regard to his father ; for he had made provision for everything that could be foreseen, as to giving his father the wisest advice ; and whenever there was occasion for the labour of his hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. He added that it was unlikely that he who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances of others against him, should himself plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue then by the wickedness which succeeded it, and that though he was already appointed his successor, and had nothing to prevent his enjoying the royal honour with his father at present ; nor was it likely that a person who had half the royal authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole with infamy and danger, and that when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not, and when he had seen the punishment of his brothers, and was both the informer and accuser against them when otherwise their guilt would not have been discovered ; nay, was himself the author of the punishment inflicted upon them, when it appeared evident that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father ; and even the contentions there were in the king's family, were proofs that he had ever managed affairs in the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome Augustus was a witness, who was no more to be imposed upon than God himself : of whose opinion his letters sent there were sufficient evidence, and it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances to those letters ; most of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave opportunity to his enemies to forge them, which they would not have been able to do if he had been at home. Moreover, he descanted on the weakness of evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false ; because the distress men were in under

such torture naturally obliged them to say many things in order to please those in power. He also offered himself to the torture \* \* \*.

§ 5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, as they greatly pitied Antipater, who, by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, moved even his enemies to compassion ; and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to recapitulate what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness ; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures, or from the witnesses. He mainly enlarged upon the king's virtue, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons, though he had never gained any advantage thereby, but had still fallen from one misfortune to another. And although he owned that he was not so much surprised at the thoughtless behaviour of Herod's other sons, who were younger, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who had caused them to wipe out of their minds all the righteous dictates of nature, and that from a desire of coming to the throne sooner than they ought to do ; yet he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrible wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, yet was not more tamed in mind than the most envenomed serpents, and even those creatures admitted of some mitigation, and would not bite their benefactors ; and Antipater had also not let the misfortunes of his brothers be any hindrance to him, but had gone on to imitate their barbarity none the less. “ Yet wast thou (he continued) O Antipater ! the informer as to the wicked actions they had dared, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but we are astounded at thy endeavours to imitate their wicked behaviour ; and we discover thereby that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brothers, that by thy expressed hatred of their impiety thou mightest be believed to be a lover of thy father, and mightest so get

power enough to do mischief with the greater impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true thou tookest thy brothers off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs, but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their fellow-conspirators, and so didst make it evident to all men, that thou madest covenant with them against thy father, as thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brothers, wishing to gain for thyself alone the advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasure, which is truly worthy of the evil disposition which thou didst openly show against thy brothers; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit, nor was that thought unworthy of thee. But if thy intention was otherwise, then art thou worse than they; for while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou wouldest not thyself have fallen into the like crime, but as successors to his throne, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldest kill thy father after thy brothers, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldst suffer the punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment from thy unhappy father, and didst devise such an uncommon sort of parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, didst not only plot against a father, but against one who loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, and had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, so that thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst sure hope of what was to come by thy father's determination and the security of a written testament. But certainly thou didst not estimate these things according to thy father's virtue, but according to thy own wicked thoughts, and wert desirous to take away the part of the kingdom that remained from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy with thy deeds him whom thou in words pretendedst to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou also filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raisedst disturbances among thy brothers, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild

beast; whilst thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both men and women against an old man; as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hidden hatred as thou didst bear to him. And now thou appearest here, after the tortures of freemen and domestics and men and women on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow-conspirators, as anxious to contradict the truth, and hast thought on ways not only to take thy father out of the world, but to set aside that law which is written against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice. Nay, so great is that impudence in which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, though thou allegest that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have saved thy father from thee may not be thought to have spoken the truth, but that thy tortures forsooth may be esteemed the discoverers of truth! Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, who has pretended kindness to his father in order to destroy his brothers, while yet he is himself alone ready to take the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most deadly enemy to his father of them all? For thou art well aware that parricide is an injury alike to nature and life, and that the intention of parricide is as great a crime as its perpetration: and he who does not punish it does an injury to nature itself."

§ 6. Nicolaus added further what concerned Antipater's mother, as whatever she had prattled with womanish garrulity, and also about the predictions and sacrifices relating to the king; and whatever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and amours with Pheroras' women. He touched also upon the result of the examinations by torture, and the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many and of various kinds, some prepared beforehand, and others sudden answers, which confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were acquainted with any of Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of

fear, lest if he got off he would avenge himself on them, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of those who had begun to accuse him, and that fortune, which had often supported him before, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were insatiable in their hatred to him, now told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those who were his accusers, as by the great audacity of his wicked contrivances, and by his ill-will to his father and brothers, as he had filled their house with dissension, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship, but only so far as was likely to serve his own turn. Now there were many who had for a long time observed all this, and especially those who were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue, because they were used to decide about facts without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before, who now, upon the leave given them, produced all that they knew before the public. There were also various wicked crimes alleged against him, which could no way be refuted, because the many witnesses did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep back what they had to say from suspicion of any danger they were in, but they spoke what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved every punishment, not so much indeed for Herod's safety, as on account of his own wickedness. Many things were also said by a great number of persons who were not called upon to say them, so that Antipater, who used generally to be very clever in his lies and brazen-faced impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had finished producing his evidence, Varus bade Antipater betake himself to his defence, if he had prepared any whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also, to find him entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God and to all men to testify to his innocence, desiring that God would declare, by some evident signs,

that he had not laid any plot against his father. This is the usual method of all men destitute of virtue ; when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God did not interfere in human affairs ; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to upset all the evidence against them by appealing to God ; which was the very thing which Antipater now did. For whereas he had done everything as if there was no God in the world, now that he was on all sides hemmed in by justice, and was destitute of proofs by which he might rebut the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power that he had been preserved hitherto, and enumerated before them all the bold acts he had never failed to do for his father's safety.

§ 7. But when Varus, upon frequently asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found he had nothing to say besides appealing to God, and saw that there would be no end of all this, he bade them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it ; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drunk it by Varus' command, he died at once. Then Varus got up, and left the court, and the day following went away to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the royal city of the Syrians. And Herod at once put his son in prison. Now what Varus said to Herod was not known to the generality, nor his last words before he went away : though it was generally supposed that whatever Herod did afterwards to Antipater was done with his approbation. But when Herod had imprisoned his son, he sent letters to Rome to Augustus about him, and messengers also to inform Augustus by word of mouth of Antipater's crimes. Now, at this very time there was intercepted a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater from Egypt (where Antiphilus lived), and, when it was broken open by the king, it was found to contain what follows. “ I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life ; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I am discovered. I wish thee

good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not appear, and Antiphilus' slave, who brought the letter which was read, denied that he had received any other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends, seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave (for he had two coats on), guessed that the letter might be hidden within the lining, which proved to be the case. So they took out the letter, and its contents were as follows. "Acme to Antipater. I have written to thy father such a letter as thou desiredst me. I have also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my mistress; and when he reads it, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him." Now, this pretended letter of Salome's to her mistress was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome as to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was as follows. "Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my mistress against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee, with risk to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was because she had a mind to be married to Syllaeus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself, to inform him that, in compliance with his command, she had not only herself written to Herod, as if Salome was intensely eager to plot against him, but had also sent a copy of a letter, as coming from Salome to her mistress. This Acme was a Jewess by birth, and a slave to Julia, the Emperor's wife; and she did this out of friendship to Antipater, having been bought by him with a large sum of money, to assist in his evil designs against his father and aunt.

§ 8. Thereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was eager to have him slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also, and even corrupted the Emperor's household. Salome also incited him

to it, beating her breast, and bidding him kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and questioned him, and bade him contradict it if he could, and not suppress anything he had to say from mistrust. But as he did not speak one word, he asked him, since he was every way detected of villainy, at least to discover without delay his associates in his wicked designs. And he laid all upon Antiphilus, and discovered nobody else. Thereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was eager to send his son to Rome to Augustus, there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But afterwards he feared lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in ; so he kept him in prison as before, and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son, as also an account of the assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the letters before mentioned.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Illness that Herod had, and the Rebellion which the Jews raised in consequence, as also the Punishment of the Rebellious.*

## § 1.

NOW Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome, having been instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the letters with them. But Herod now fell ill, and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas], his youngest son ; and that out of hatred to Archelaus and Philip owing to the calumnies of Antipater. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to the Emperor, and five hundred to Julia, the Emperor's wife, and to the Emperor's children, and friends, and freedmen. He also distributed his money revenues and lands among his sons and grandsons. He also made Salome his sister very rich, because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and had never ventured to do him any harm. And as he despaired of recovering, for he

was in the seventieth year of his age, he grew very fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions ; the reason whereof was that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes ; besides which, he resented a rebellion which some of the people excited against him, the occasion of which was as follows.

§ 2. Judas, the son of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, were two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of the youth ; for all those youths that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they heard that the king's illness was incurable, incited the young men to pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and so obtain the rewards which the law would confer on them for such actions of piety, for it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden that his other misfortunes, which were so unusual among mankind, and this illness also, with which he was now afflicted, had come upon him. For Herod had caused some things to be made which were contrary to the law, for which he was accused by Judas and Matthias. For example the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, as an offering to the temple. Now, the law forbids those that propose to live according to it to erect images or representations of any living creatures. So these wise men bade [their scholars] pull down the golden eagle ; saying that, though they might incur danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them was evidently far more advantageous to them than the pleasure of living, since they would die for the preservation and maintenance of the law of their fathers, and would also acquire everlasting fame and commendation, and would be commended not only by the present generation, but leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity. And as death could not be avoided by living to escape danger, it was well for those who aimed after virtue to accept their fate so as to go out of the world with praise and honour ; and it would alleviate death to a great degree,

thus to come at it by noble actions which danger brought, and, at the same time, to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether men or women, which would be of great advantage to them afterwards.

§ 3. With such words did they incite the young men, and a report having come to them that the king was dead co-operated with the wise men's arguments. So at midday they went and pulled down the eagle and cut it in pieces with axes, while a great many people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, hearing of the affair, and supposing it was more serious than it proved to be, went to the spot with a large force, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who were trying to pull down what was dedicated to God : and he attacked them unexpectedly, as they were upon this bold attempt in foolish presumption rather than cautious prudence (as is usual with the multitude), and while they were in disorder and incautious of what was for their advantage ; and he arrested no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to wait his attack when the rest ran away, as also the instigators of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, (who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach,) and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God, " Yes, (said they,) we contrived what was contrived, and we performed what has been performed, and that with such virtue as becomes men ; for we have given our assistance to those things which are dedicated to the honour of God, and we have paid heed to the hearing of the law ; and it ought not to be wondered at at all, if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested and taught to him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. And we will with pleasure undergo death, or whatever punishment thou mayst inflict upon us, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall not die for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said, and their courage was equal to their words, as also to the spirit with which they had set about their bold action. And the king ordered them to be bound,

and sent them to Jericho, and summoned the principal men of the Jews. And when they were come, he assembled them in the theatre, and as he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and how he had built the temple at great expense, though the Asamonæans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their rule, had not been able to perform so great a work for the honour of God; and how he had also adorned it with very valuable votive offerings, so that he hoped he had left himself a memorial and fair fame after his death. He then cried out that these men had not abstained from affronting him even in his life-time, but in the very day-time, and in the sight of the multitude, had outraged him to that degree, as to lay their hands upon what he had dedicated, and by way of abuse to pull it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they had done so to affront him, but if any one considered the matter, he would find that they were really guilty of sacrilege against God.

§ 4. But those present, because of Herod's temper, and for fear he would be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said that what was done was done without their approbation, and that it seemed to them that the deed deserved punishment. But Herod dealt more mildly with the others, but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part the cause of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias' wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, that another person was made high priest for a single day, which the Jews observed as a fast, for the following reason. This Matthias the high priest, during the night before the day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed in a dream to have connection with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, performed the sacred duties for him. Herod now deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and burnt alive the other Matthias, who had raised this insurrection, with his companions. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This eclipse of the moon (which is the only eclipse of either of the luminaries mentioned by our Josephus in any of his writings) is of the

§ 5. And now Herod's disease greatly increased upon him, God inflicting judgment upon him for his sins ; for a slow fire consumed him, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly ; and brought on him a vehement appetite for eating, which he could not but satisfy. His intestines were also ulcerated, and he had especial pain in his colon ; an aqueous and transparent humour was also in his feet, and a similar ailment afflicted him in his abdomen. His privy-member also was putrified, and bred worms ; and when he sat upright, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very unpleasant, on account of the foulness of his breath, and his frequent panting ; he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which made him preternaturally strong. It was said by those who practised divination, and were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety. And though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear, yet had he some hopes of recovering, and sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his relief, and he crossed the river Jordan, and bathed in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe,<sup>1</sup> which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink ; these waters run into the lake called Asphaltites.<sup>2</sup> And when the physicians thought fit to revive him there, by placing him in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was dying ; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he came round, and having no longer the least hopes of recovery, gave orders that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ. He also gave a great deal of money to their commanders, and to his friends, and returned to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it made him do all things savagely, and though he was near his death, he contrived the following wicked design. Having commanded that all the principal men of the entire

greatest consequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod and Antipater, and for the birth and entire chronology of Jesus Christ. It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the 4th year before the Christian era.—W.

<sup>1</sup> The hot-springs in the *Wâdy Zerka Ma'in*, on the east of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> The Dead Sea.

Jewish nation, wherever they lived, should come to him (and a great number came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this decree, and death was the penalty of such as should neglect the letters sent to call them), the king was in a wild rage against them all, as well innocent as guilty, and ordered them to be all shut up in the hippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spoke to them as follows. "I shall die at no distant time, so great are my pains; and death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as usually takes place at a king's death." He added that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, and knew that his death would be a thing very desirable and exceedingly acceptable to them, for even during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him and despise his measures. He told them it was therefore their duty to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrow under these circumstances. For if they did not refuse him their consent in what he desired, he would have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any king had had before him, for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore that as soon as they saw he had given up the ghost, they should place soldiers round the hippodrome, who did not know that he was dead, and that they should not announce his death to the multitude till this was done, and that they should give orders to have those that were in the hippodrome shot with these soldiers' darts; and this slaughter of them all would cause him not to fail to rejoice on two accounts, first at their performing what he charged them with his dying breath to do, and secondly at his having the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition with tears in his eyes, and appealed to them by the kindness due from kindred, and by their faith in God, and conjured them not to debar him of this honourable mourning at his funeral. And they promised him to do what he wished.

§ 6. Now one may easily discover the temper of this

man's mind, even if one were satisfied with his former acts, as having been done to his relations from love of life, by these last commands of his which savoured of great inhumanity, since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning by the loss of their dearest ones, as he gave orders that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; though it is usual for those who have any regard to virtue to lay aside at the hour of death their hatred even to those whom they justly esteem their enemies.

## CHAP. VII.

*Herod has thoughts of killing himself with his own hands, and a little afterwards orders Antipater to be slain.*

### § 1.

AS he was giving these instructions to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors who had been sent to Rome to Augustus, and when they were read, their purport was as follows: that Acme had been put to death by Augustus, in consequence of his indignation at the hand she had had in Antipater's wicked practices; and that, as to Antipater himself, Augustus left it to Herod to act as became a father and king, and either to banish him or take away his life, which he pleased. When Herod heard this, he felt somewhat better from the pleasure he had at the contents of the letters, and was elated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given him over his son; but as his pains became very great, he was now ready to faint for want of something to eat; so he called for an apple and a knife; for it was his custom even formerly to pare an apple himself, and gradually to cut it and eat it. When he had got the knife, he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and would have done so, had not his cousin Achiabus prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a

woeful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great noise was made, as if the king was dead. Upon this Antipater, who verily believed his father was dead, grew bold in his language, hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his own hands without any more ado; so he talked with the jailor about letting him go, and promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailor not only refused to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and of the many solicitations he had had from him. Thereupon Herod, who had not formerly been overpowered by good-will towards his son, when he heard what the jailor said, cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his body-guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any further delay, and to do it quickly, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Herod's Death, Testament, and Burial.*

## § 1.

AND now Herod changed his testament again upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea,<sup>2</sup> and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. And Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Batanæa,<sup>3</sup> and Panias,<sup>4</sup> he gave to Philip, his son, and own brother to Archelaus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiii. 16, § 3; xiv. 5, § 4; Jewish War, i. 8, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Peraea extended from Pella in the north to Machærus in the south, and from the Jordan eastward to Philadelphia, Rabbeth Ammon. Jewish War, iii. 3, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Life, § 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsarea Philippi, now Bâniâs.

<sup>5</sup> When it is said that Philip and Archelaus were own brothers, or born of the same father and mother, there must be here some mistake; because they had indeed the same father Herod, but different mothers; the former Cleopatra, and Archelaus, Malthace. They were indeed

by the name of a tetrarchy ; and bequeathed Jamnia,<sup>1</sup> and Azotus,<sup>2</sup> and Phasaelis,<sup>3</sup> to his sister Salome, as also five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of coined silver. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Augustus ten millions of [drachmæ] of coined silver, besides vessels both of gold and silver, and to Julia, Augustus' wife, exceedingly costly garments, and to some others five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused his son Antipater to be slain ; having reigned thirty-four years since he had had Antigonus slain, and thirty-seven since he had been declared king by the Romans. He was a man of great cruelty to all men alike, and a slave to his anger, and indifferent to justice, yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king, and though he was surrounded by ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and protracted his life to a very old age. But as to the affairs of his family and sons, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, he was in my opinion very unfortunate.

§ 2. However Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was generally known, dismissed those that were shut up in the hippodrome to their own homes, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and look after their own affairs. They thus conferred on the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, and Salome and Alexas gathered the soldiers together in the amphitheatre at Jericho ; and the first thing they did was to read Herod's letter written to the soldiers, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to treat his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed as their king, with like fidelity and good-will. After this Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was not to be of force till Augustus had inspected it. And there was accla-

brought up all together at Rome like own brothers, which is perhaps all that Josephus intends by the words before us.—W.

<sup>1</sup> *Yebnah.*

<sup>2</sup> *Esdūd.*

<sup>3</sup> *'Ain Fusāil.*

mation made at once to Archelaus as king, and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and zeal in serving him, as they had exhibited to Herod, and they prayed God to be his helper.

§ 3. After this was over, they prepared for the king's funeral, Archelaus taking care that his father should be buried in a very sumptuous manner. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to add to the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and the bier was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself, which had a diadem upon its head, and above it a crown of gold, and a sceptre in its right hand. Round the bier were Herod's sons and numerous relations; next to these were the soldiers, disposed according to their several countries and names, and placed in the following order: first of all went the body-guards, then the band of Thracians, after them the Germans, and next them the Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, preceded by their commanders and centurions; and these were followed by five hundred domestics carrying spices. And they went eight furlongs on the road to Herodium;<sup>1</sup> for there by his own command Herod was to be buried. And thus did he end his life.

§ 4. Now Archelaus paid his father so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed by the custom of our country. And when he had feasted the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; and he had acclamations and praises given him, whichever way he went, every one vying with one another who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. And he ascended a high platform made for him, and took his seat on a throne made of gold, and spoke kindly to the multitude, and declared with what joy he received their acclamations and marks of good-will; and returned them thanks for not remembering to his disadvantage the injuries his father had done them, and pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Jebel Fureidis.*

mised them he would endeavour not to be slack in rewarding their zeal to him. He said he should abstain at present from the name of king, but he would have the honour of that dignity if the Emperor should confirm the testament his father had made; and that was the reason why, when the army would have put the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who had the authority of bestowing it would give it him. But if he got the kingdom he would not (he said) come short in the virtue of gratitude for their good-will; for it should be his endeavour, in all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as is usual with them, supposed that the first days show the intentions of those that enter upon such sovereignty, and the more gently and civilly Archelaus spoke to them, so much the more highly did they commend him, and made application to him to grant what they desired. Some cried out to him to ease them of some of their annual payments, others to release those that had been put into prison by Herod (who were many, and had been there a long time); others asked that he would do away with those heavy taxes which had been laid upon what was publicly sold or bought. And Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, as he was anxious to do all things so as to conciliate the good-will of the multitude, looking upon that good-will as a great step towards the preservation of his power. He then went and offered sacrifice to God, and afterwards betook himself to feasting with his friends.

## CHAP. IX.

*How the People raised a Rebellion against Archelaus, and how he Sailed to Rome.*

## § 1.

M EANTIME some of the Jews assembled together out of desire of innovation, and lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not had

at the time any respect paid them by mourning, from the fear men were in of Herod, and had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. These people made a great clamour and lamentation, and threw out some reproaches against the king also, as if that was a solace to the deceased. They assembled together, and demanded of Archelaus, that, to avenge them, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod: and first and foremost that he would deprive the high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. To this Archelaus assented, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome shortly, to see what the Emperor had determined about him. However, he sent his general to use persuasion, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law, and to represent to them that their petitions about these things were highly insulting to him, and that the time was not now fit for such petitions, but rather required their unanimity until he should be established on the throne by the consent of the Emperor, and should have come back to them; for he would then consult with them in common as to what they asked; but they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem factious.

§ 2. When the king had suggested this line of argument, and instructed his general what he was to say, he sent him to the people. But they made a clamour, and would not let him speak, and put him in danger of his life, as they also did to all who ventured upon saying openly anything which might bring them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses; because they had more desire to have all their way than to yield obedience to their rulers, thinking it monstrous that, while Herod was alive, they should have lost those who were most dear to them, and that now he was dead, they should not get their revenge. So they went on with their designs in a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, being unskilful in foreseeing what danger they ran, and if they had suspicion

of any such thing, the present pleasure they took in the idea of the punishment of those they deemed their very great enemies outweighed all such considerations. And although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons who came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not suffer one of them to speak. The rebellion was also set in motion by such as were in a great passion, and it was evident that it would grow, as the people joined the movement in great numbers.

§ 3. Now on the approach of the feast of Unleavened Bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews (which feast is called the Passover,<sup>1</sup> and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, when they offer sacrifices with zeal, and when it is customary to slay more victims than at any other festival, and when an innumerable multitude come out of the country—nay, from beyond its limits also, to worship God), the innovators lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, having plenty of food, because those factious persons were not ashamed to demand it. And as Archelaus was afraid that some terrible thing would happen owing to these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violence of the rebellious, before the whole population should be infected with the like madness; and charged them, if they found any more openly rebellious than others, to bring them before him. But those that were rebellious because of those dead teachers of the law, incited the people by noise and clamour, so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and went up to them, and stoned most of them, but a few ran away wounded, and their captain with them. And when they had thus done, they attended to the sacrifice again. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to keep his throne but by cutting off those of the people who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out his whole army against them, and despatched his cavalry to prevent those that had

<sup>1</sup> This Passover, when the rebellion here mentioned was moved against Archelaus, was not one, but thirteen months after the eclipse of the moon already mentioned.—W.

their tents outside the temple from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as fled from the infantry when they thought themselves out of danger. And the cavalry slew some three thousand men, and the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made that all should go to their own homes ; so they went away, and left the festival fearing that something worse might follow, although they had been so bold because of their stupidity. Then Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many of his friends, and left his brother Philip governor of all things belonging both to his family and the realm. There also went with him Herod's sister Salome, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred went with her, under pretext of assisting Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, the Emperor's administrator in Syrian affairs, as he was making haste to Judæa to take charge of Herod's money, met with Archelaus at Cæsarea ; but Varus came up and restrained him from meddling with it, for he had been sent for there by Archelaus through Ptolemy. And Sabinus, to gratify Varus, did neither seize upon any of the fortresses that were among the Jews, nor seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, till the Emperor should declare his will about them, and having promised that, he remained at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus had sailed for Rome, and Varus had removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those who had had the charge of Herod's affairs, and declared publicly that he should call them to account, and disposed of the fortresses as he pleased. However, those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had commanded them, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them ; and their pretext was that they kept them all for the Emperor.

§ 4. At the same time, also, did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, to claim the kingdom, being buoyed up by Salome with promises that he should have

it, as<sup>1</sup> being much fitter than Archelaus for that authority; since Herod had, in his former testament, which ought to be esteemed most valid, deemed him the worthiest to be made king. Antipas also took with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Irenæus the orator, who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to think of claiming the kingdom. That was why, when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as his elder brother, who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not do so. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations came over to him, not out of good-will to him, but out of hatred to Archelaus, though indeed they were most desirous of gaining their liberty, and of being put under a Roman governor; but if opposition were made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so tried to get the kingdom for him. Sabinus also accused Archelaus to the Emperor in a letter.

§ 5. Now, when Archelaus had despatched a letter to the Emperor, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, and sent Ptolemy with Herod's seal and the accounts of Herod's money, he waited the event. And when the Emperor had read Archelaus' letter, and Varus' and Sabinus' letters, and the accounts of the money, and the statement of the annual revenues of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent a letter laying claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together to give their opinions, and among them Caius, the son of Agrippa and his daughter Julia whom he had adopted, whom he made to sit first of all, and bade such as pleased speak their minds about the affairs now before them. And Salome's son Antipater, a very clever orator, and a very bitter enemy to Archelaus, spoke first, and said that it was jesting of Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had in reality assumed the authority already, before Augustus had granted it. He also inveighed against his bold action in slaying so many at the

<sup>1</sup> For καὶ I read ὡς. It is well known how similar the abbreviation of these two words is, and how frequently this mistake is made in MSS.

Jewish festival, for if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those who were out of the country, and had the right to punish them, and not been executed by a man who, if he pretended to be a king, wronged Augustus by ignoring his authority, and if he owned himself a private person, his case was much worse, since he who put in claim to the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him over the Jews, of which he had already deprived Augustus. He also charged and upbraided him with changing some commanders in the army, and sitting on the royal throne, and deciding lawsuits, just as if he were king, and assenting to the requests of those that publicly petitioned him, and indeed his management of all things, which could in his opinion be no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Augustus. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the hippodrome, and many other things, that had either been done by him, or might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature as were done by young men, and by such as in desire of ruling grasped at power too soon. He also charged him with neglect in mourning for his father, and with revelling the very night he died; and said that was why the multitude began raising a tumult; and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, pretending to shed tears for him in the day-time like an actor on the stage, but every night making merry at having got the kingdom, he would show himself the same Archelaus to Augustus, if he granted him the kingdom, as he had been to his father; for he had then danced and sung, as though an enemy of his had fallen, and not as though a man was being carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related to him, and had been so great a benefactor. But he said that the most monstrous thing of all was, that he came now before Augustus to obtain the kingdom by his grant, when he had before acted in all things as he would have acted if the Emperor himself had already fixed him firmly in the kingdom. And what he most exaggerated in his pleading was the slaughter of those in the temple, and the impiety of its being done

at festival time, and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of them foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies: and all this was not done by an alien, but by one who laid claim to the lawful title of king, that he might fulfil the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which was hated by all men. That was no doubt the reason why his father had never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his character, and in his former and more authentic testament had appointed his enemy Antipas to succeed; for Archelaus was called by his father to the kingdom, when Herod was in an ailing condition both of body and mind, while Antipas was called when Herod was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs. And even if his father had had the like notion of him formerly that he had now showed, yet Archelaus had given a sufficient specimen of what sort of a king he was likely to be, when he deprived Augustus of the power which he justly had of disposing of the kingdom, and had not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow-citizens in the temple when he was but as yet a private person.

§ 6. When Antipater had said thus much, and had confirmed what he said by producing many witnesses from among his own relations, he ended his speech. Upon which Nicolaus rose up on behalf of Archelaus, and said that what had been done in the temple was rather to be attributed to the behaviour of those who had been killed than to the authority of Archelaus; for those who were the authors of such things, were not only wicked in the injuries they themselves did, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. And it was evident that their hostile action was taken in pretext, indeed, against Archelaus, but in reality against the Emperor himself, for those riotous persons attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings, having no regard either to God or to the custom of the festival; and yet Antipater was not ashamed to advocate their cause, whether to indulge his enmity against Archelaus, or because of his own hatred of virtue and

justice. For those who began such tumults, and attacked people who little expected it, forced men even against their will to betake themselves to arms to punish them. Nicolaus also ascribed all the rest that was done to all those who had acted in counsel with the accusers, for nothing which was here accused of as unjust had been done, but what had been approved of by them; nor were those things bad in themselves, but only so represented to harm Archelaus. So great was these factious persons' desire to do injury to a man that was of their kindred, and their father's benefactor, and one familiarly acquainted with them, who had ever lived in friendship with them. And as to Herod's testament, it was made by the king when he was in a sound mind, and so ought to be more valid than his former testament, for Augustus was left by it the judge and sole disposer of all its contents. And certainly Augustus would not imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's life, had on all occasions been benefited by his power, and yet now zealously endeavoured to hinder his will, though they had not themselves deserved as well of Herod as Archelaus had. Augustus would not therefore disannul the testament of a man who had put everything at his disposal, and had been his friend and ally, and had committed everything to him in trust. Nor would Augustus' virtuous and upright disposition, which was known and uncontested throughout all the world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as having lost his reason, and as a madman, for having bequeathed the succession to a good son, who fled to Augustus' uprightness for refuge. Nor could Herod ever have been mistaken in his judgment about his successor, when he showed so much prudence as to submit all things to the decision of Augustus.

§ 7. When Nicolaus had laid these arguments before Augustus, he ended his speech. And Augustus kindly raised Archelaus up when he threw himself down at his feet, and said that he was most worthy of the kingdom, and showed that he was not disposed to act otherwise than his father's testament directed, which was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, though he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to rely on him and banish all

fear, he made no full determination about him. And, when the assembly was broken up, he debated with himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should divide it among all Herod's posterity, as these too stood in need of much assistance.

## CHAP. X.

*An Insurrection of the Jews against Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment.*

### § 1.

BUT before these things could be brought to a settlement, Archelaus' mother, Malthace, fell ill and died, and letters came from Varus, the governor of Syria, informing Augustus of a revolt of the Jews. For, after Archelaus had sailed, the whole nation was in an uproar, and Varus himself, as he was on the spot, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment; and when he had mostly composed this rising, which was a formidable one, he set out for Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, if they made any new rising. But this did not at all avail to put an end to their rebellion; for after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Augustus' procurator, stayed behind, and greatly harassed the Jews, believing that the forces that were left there would by their numbers be too many for the Jews. For he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, so oppressing and troubling the Jews, that they rebelled; for he used force to seize the citadels, and zealously made violent search for the king's money, on account of his love of gain, and extraordinary covetousness.

§ 2. Now on the approach of Pentecost (which is a festival of ours, so called from the days of our forefathers) a great many myriads of men assembled together not only to keep the festival, but also in consequence of their indignation at the mad insolence of Sabinus. They were chiefly Galilæans and Idumæans, and from Jericho, and those who inhabited the districts on the other side of the

river Jordan, who all banded together, and were more zealous than the others to avenge themselves on Sabinus. And they divided themselves into three bands, and encamped in the following places, some of them seized upon the hippodrome, and one of the other two bands encamped on the east quarter from the north part of the temple to the south, while the third band occupied the west part of the city where the king's palace was. Their action tended to besiege entirely the Romans, and to shut them in on all sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's numbers and spirit, for they had little regard to their lives from their desire not to be overcome, and they thought it virtue to conquer their enemies; so he sent immediately a letter to Varus, and, as was usual with him, was very urgent with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, as the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be intercepted and cut to pieces. But he himself occupied the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus (which had been built in honour of Phasaelus,<sup>1</sup> king Herod's brother, and so called when the Parthians had brought him to his death<sup>2</sup>), and thence gave a signal to the Romans to attack the Jews, and although he did not himself venture even to come down to his friends, expected that all the others should expose themselves to death for his greediness. And as the Romans ventured to make a sally, a terrible battle ensued; and though the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews cowed in spirit even at the sight of the terrible slaughter that was made of many of them, but they made a circuit, and got upon those porticoes which surrounded the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still maintained, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly from slings, being very expert in that kind of warfare. All the archers also drawn up in battle-array did the Romans a great deal of mischief, because they were on higher ground, and so not easy to get at, for when the Romans tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, so that the

<sup>1</sup> The 'Tower of David' at Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> See Antiq. xiv. 13, § 10, and Jewish War, ii. 12, § 9.—W.

Jews were too much for their enemies here. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly enraged at what was done, set fire to the porticoes so stealthily, that those Jews who were upon them did not perceive it. This fire being fed by a great deal of combustible matter,<sup>1</sup> soon caught the roof of the porticoes; and the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, especially as its gold was smeared over with wax, yielded to the flames at once; and those vast works, which were so worthy of esteem, were destroyed utterly, and those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for, as the roof tumbled in, some of these men fell down with it, and others were killed by their enemies who surrounded them. Many also, in despair of saving their lives, and dismayed at the fate that awaited them, either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords, and so got out of their misery. And as to those that endeavoured to escape by the same way by which they ascended, they were all killed by the Romans, being unarmed, and their courage failing them; their reckless fury being now unable to serve them, as they were destitute of armour; so that not one of those that ascended to the roof escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it was practicable, and seized on the treasure where the sacred money was; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, but Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

§ 3. Now the loss of their friends, who fell in this battle, grieved the Jews, as did also the plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. So that body of them which was most compact and most warlike surrounded the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and kill all that were in it, and commanded them to go out quickly, and promised, if they would do so, that they would not hurt them, or Sabinus either. And most of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus,

<sup>1</sup> These great devastations made about the temple here, and Jewish War, ii. 3, § 3, seem not to have been fully repaired in the days of Nero; till whose time there were 18,000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing the temple, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. xx. 9, § 7.—W.

who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with them, who were men of bodily activity, went over to the Romans. There was also a troop of horse under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the walls, and besought those that had gone over to the other side not to hinder them, now they had such an opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty. As for Sabinus, he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but dared not trust himself with the enemy on account of the mischief he had already done them, and this great clemency of theirs (*which he suspected*) made him reject their offer. He also expected that Varus was coming, and so endured the siege.

§ 4. At this time there were myriads of other troubles in Judæa, many people in many places stirring up war either in hope of gain to themselves, or from enmity to the Jews. And two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, mustered in Judæa itself, and fought against the king's troops, and Achiabus, Herod's cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by their military skill, he kept on ground not easy of approach, and saved what he could.

§ 5. There was also one Judas, the son of that Ezekias who had been a robber-chief, a very strong man, who had with great difficulty been taken by Herod. This Judas having got together a multitude of men of profligate character at Sepphoris<sup>1</sup> in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there,] and seized upon all the weapons that were stored up in it, and armed with them every one of his men, and made off with all the money that was left there, and became terrible to all men by plundering those that came near him, in consequence of a thirst for power, and an ambitious desire for royal rank, which he hoped to obtain, not as the reward of his virtue, but of his power to do harm.

§ 6. There was also one Simon, who had been a slave of

<sup>1</sup> *Sefurieh.*

Herod the king, but was in other respects a comely person, tall and of a robust body, and had had great things committed to his trust. He, being elated at the disorderly state of affairs, was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, and a certain number of the people stood by him, and by their madness he was hailed as king, and he thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else, and burnt down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it, and also set fire to many other of the king's houses in various parts of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those who were associated with him to take what was left in them as spoil. And he would have done greater things, if care had not been taken to repress him quickly ; for Gratus, after he had joined himself to the Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and obstinate fight, most of those that came from Peræa, who were a disorderly body of men, and fought in rather a bold than skilful manner, were cut to pieces, and although Simon tried to save himself by flight through a certain defile, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace at Amatha,<sup>1</sup> near the river Jordan, was also burnt down by a party of men that mustered together, like those belonging to Simon. Thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king of their own to keep the multitude in virtue, and because those foreigners, who came to reduce the rebellious to order, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of their avarice and outrageous treatment of them.

§ 7. At this time also Athronges, a person eminent neither for the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great virtue or wealth of his own, as he was only a shepherd, and obscure in all respects, because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, was so bold as to set up for king, and thought it so sweet a thing to do injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in such actions. He had also four brothers, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in

<sup>1</sup> *'Amateh*, east of the Jordan and north of the Jabbok.

the strength of their hands, and he thought that strength of theirs would aid him in retaining his kingdom. Each of them ruled over a band of men of their own; for those who mustered to them were very numerous. They were also every one of them commanders, but when they came to fight, they were subordinate to Athronges, and fought for him, and he put a diadem on his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things were to be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And he retained his power a great while, being called king, and having nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased, and he and his brothers slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, acting with the like hatred to each of them, to the king's forces because of their outrageous conduct during Herod's reign, and to the Romans because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men alike, nor could any one escape, for they slew some in the hope of gain, and others from the mere habit of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and surrounded Areus, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot down him and forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; and the rest of them were dismayed at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but escaped themselves by the aid of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were with him to their assistance. They continued such guerilla warfare a long while, and much harassed the Romans, but did their own nation also a great deal of injury. But they were afterwards put down, one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; and Archelaus took the eldest of them prisoner, when the last of them was so dejected at the others' misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, being left alone and worn out with continual labours, and having lost his men, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things happened some time afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> Emmaus Nicopolis, 'Amwâd.

§ 8. And now Judæa was full of bands of robbers, and, as the several companies of the seditious lit upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the community. They did some small harm to a few of the Romans, but their murders of their own people lasted the longest.

§ 9. Directly Varus was informed of the state of Judæa by Sabinus' writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left; so he took the two other legions (for there were three legions in all in Syria), and four troops of horse, and all the auxiliary forces that either the kings or any of the tetrarchs supplied him with, and made what haste he could to assist those who were then besieged in Judæa. He also gave orders to all who were sent forward to hasten to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus<sup>1</sup> also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretas also, the king of Arabia Petræa,<sup>2</sup> from his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent no small assistance, besides foot and horse. And when Varus had concentrated all his forces at Ptolemais,<sup>3</sup> he committed part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; and they attacked the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burnt the city. But Varus himself pushed on to Samaria<sup>4</sup> with the main army: but he did not meddle with the city of that name, because it was not accused of rebellion, but pitched his camp at a certain village that belonged to Ptolemy, called Arus,<sup>5</sup> which the Arabians burnt from their hatred to Herod, and from the enmity they bore to his friends. The Arabians marched thence to another village called Sampho,<sup>6</sup> which they plundered and burnt, although it was a very strong and fortified place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and slaughter. Emmaus was also burnt by Varus' order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had been

<sup>1</sup> *Beirût.*

<sup>2</sup> The desert of Petra and the Peninsula of Sinai.

<sup>3</sup> 'Akka.

<sup>4</sup> *Sebastieh.*

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

slain there. From thence Varus marched at once to Jerusalem, and those Jews whose camp lay there, and who were besieging the Roman legion, at first sight of the approach of his army raised the siege and fled. But as to the Jews in Jerusalem, when Varus reproached them bitterly, they cleared themselves of the charges laid against them, and said that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast, and that the war was not made with their approbation, but came from the rashness of the strangers, for they were on the side of the Romans, and rather besieged with them, than desirous at all to besiege them. Now Joseph, the cousin of king Herod, had also come before this to meet Varus, as had also Gratus and Rufus (who brought their soldiers with them), and those Romans who had been besieged. But Sabinus did not come into Varus' presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the sea-side.

§ 10. Next Varus sent a part of his army all over the country, to seek out the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of those that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: the number of those that were crucified on this account was two thousand. After this he disbanded his army, which he found not at all useful, for the soldiers behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed Varus' orders and wishes, being intent on the gain which they made by malpractices. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had mustered together, he made haste to crush them; but they did not venture to fight him, but, at the advice of Achiabus, surrendered to Varus. Thereupon he forgave the multitude their crime of revolting, but sent their several commanders to Augustus. The Emperor dismissed many of them, and the only persons whom he punished were those relations of Herod who had joined these men in this war, who, without the least regard to justice, had fought against their own kindred.

## CHAP. XI.

*An Embassy of the Jews to Augustus, and how he confirmed Herod's Testament.*

## § 1.

WHEN Varus had settled these affairs, and left the legion that had been formerly there to garrison Jerusalem, he set out for Antioch. As for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble come upon him at Rome from the following circumstances. An embassy of the Jews came to Rome (Varus having permitted the nation to send it) to petition for the liberty of living according to their own laws. Now, the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the will of the nation was fifty, who were joined by more than eight thousand Jews who dwelt at Rome. And Augustus assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo, which he had built at great expense, and the ambassadors came there, and the multitude of Jews that lived at Rome with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends. But as for the various kinsmen of the king, they would not join themselves with Archelaus, from their hatred to him; and yet they thought it monstrous to vote with the ambassadors against him, supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Augustus' opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip also had arrived there from Syria, at the instigation of Varus, with the principal intention of assisting his brother (for Varus was his great friend), but still so, if any change should happen in the form of government (for Varus expected the kingdom would be divided, because of the many who desired the liberty of living in accordance with their own laws), that he might not be behind, but might have his share of it.

§ 2. Now upon liberty being given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped by their words to put down kingly government betook themselves to accusing Herod of various lawless acts, and declared that he had been nominally indeed a king, but had usurped that absolute

authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects, and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews, and had not abstained from introducing many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclination. And although a great many had perished during his reign by various kinds of deaths, so many indeed as no previous history related, they that had survived were far more miserable than those that had suffered, not only from the anxiety they were in as to his look and disposition, but also from the danger their estates were in. They said Herod had never ceased adding to the beauty of those neighbouring cities that were inhabited by foreigners, but the cities belonging to his own kingdom were ruined and utterly destroyed, and whereas when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinarily flourishing condition, he had afflicted the nation with extreme poverty, and when he had slain any of the nobility upon unjust pretexts, he had taken away their estates, and when he permitted any of them to live, he had condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they had had to make liberal presents to him and his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers, because there was no way of obtaining freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. They would say nothing of the deflowering of their virgins, or the debauching of their wives, and that carried out in a wanton and inhuman manner, because it was almost equal pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed as not to have suffered them. They said Herod had ill treated them worse than a wild beast would have done, if he had had power given him to rule; and although their nation had passed through many vicissitudes and changes, their history gave no account of any calamity it had ever undergone, that could be compared with what Herod had brought upon the nation. And so they had thought they might reasonably and gladly hail Archelaus as king, upon the supposition that whoever should be set over the kingdom would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and they had joined with him in the mourning for his

father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they found him mild in his dealings with them. But he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he immediately let the nation understand his disposition, and that before his position on the throne was secure, since Augustus could either give it him or not, as he pleased. Moreover he had given his subjects a specimen of his future virtue, and of the kind of moderation and good administration with which he would govern them, by his first action in the sight of the citizens and God himself, when he slaughtered three thousand of his own countrymen in the temple. How, then, could they help justly hating him who, besides his other barbarity, had alleged as one of their crimes that they had opposed and thwarted him in the exercise of his authority? They concluded by saying that the main thing they desired was that they might be delivered from kingly and similar governments, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such chief magistrates as should be sent to them; for it would thereby be made evident, whether they were really rebellious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they had mild rulers set over them.

§ 3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said that as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused during his life, it was not right for those that might during his lifetime have accused him before just judges, and procured his punishment, to bring an accusation against him now that he was dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' insolence, who, striving after what was contrary to the laws, and beginning to kill those who would have hindered them from their insolence, now complained of just reprisals. He also accused them of their love of innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, because of their not having learned to submit to justice and the laws, through their desiring to have their way in all things. This was what Nicolaus said.

§ 4. When Augustus had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly, and a few days afterwards appointed

Archelaus not indeed king, but ethnarch of half the country that had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity subsequently, if he deserved it. As for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus the whole kingdom. Now Peræa and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted annually to two hundred talents, to Antipas, while Batanæa and Trachonitis and Auranitis, with a certain portion of what was called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip. But Idumæa, and Judæa, and Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus, but had a fourth part of their tribute taken off by order of Augustus, who decreed them that abatement because they had not joined in revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also other cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, as Strato's tower,<sup>1</sup> and Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> and Joppa, and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza and Gadara<sup>3</sup> and Hippos,<sup>4</sup> they are Greek cities, which Augustus separated from Archelaus' jurisdiction, and added to the province of Syria. And the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his dominions amounted to six hundred talents.

§ 5. So much of their father's inheritance came to Herod's sons. As to Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, namely, Jamnia,<sup>5</sup> and Azotus,<sup>6</sup> and Phasaelis,<sup>7</sup> and five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of coined silver, Augustus made her a present of the royal habitation at Ascalon;<sup>8</sup> her revenues in all amounted to sixty talents a year, and her dwelling-house was within Archelaus' jurisdiction. The rest also of the king's relations received what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Augustus made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and married them to Pheroras' sons; he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons, which was one thousand five hundred talents, except a few of the vessels,

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> Samaria, *Sebastieh*.

<sup>3</sup> *Umm Keis*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sûsiyeh*. See Life, § 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Esdûd*.

<sup>5</sup> *Yebnah*.

<sup>7</sup> *'Ain Fusâil*.

<sup>8</sup> *'Ascalân*.

which he reserved for himself ; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for their great value as because they were memorials to him of king Herod.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning a spurious Alexander.*

## § 1.

WHEN these affairs had been thus settled by Augustus, a certain young man, by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freedman in the city of Sidon, palmed himself off as akin to Herod, by the resemblance of countenance, which those who saw him attested him to have to Alexander the son of Herod, whom Herod had had put to death. And this was an incitement to him to endeavour to seize the kingdom. So he took to him as an assistant a man of his own tribe (one who was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but in other respects a bad man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great mischief, and who taught this wicked contrivance to the other), and declared himself to be Alexander the son of Herod, who had been stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him, who slew two others to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus alive. Thus was this man puffed up, and proceeded to impose on all that saw him, and when he landed at Crete, he made all the Jews that came into his company believe his story. And when he had got much money, which was presented to him there, he crossed over to Melos,<sup>1</sup> where he got much more money than he had before, from the belief the people of Melos had that he was of the royal family, and from their hopes that he would recover his father's kingdom, and reward his benefactors : so he made haste to Rome, and was escorted there by his private friends. He was also so fortunate, upon landing at Dicæarchia,<sup>2</sup> as to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion ; and not only other

<sup>1</sup> This island, now *Milo*, is the most westerly of the Cyclades.

<sup>2</sup> Puteoli, now *Pozzuoli*, near *Naples*.

people, but also all those who had been intimate with Herod, or had good-will to him, joined themselves to him as their king. The reason was that men gladly listened to his tale, which was confirmed by his appearance, which made those who had been intimately acquainted with Alexander believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath. And so, when the report went about him that he was come to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to divine providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful because of their affection to his mother's family. And wherever he went, he was carried in a litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him were such as kings wore, and all this was done at the expense of his private friends. The multitude also flocked about him perpetually, and made auspicious acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought proper treatment for such as had been so unexpectedly preserved alive.

§ 2. When news of this was told Augustus he did not believe it, because Herod was not so easily to be imposed upon in affairs of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent Celadus, one of his freedmen, who had intimately known the young man, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence. And he brought him, being no better in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. However the young man did not deceive Augustus, for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as had good discernment. For this spurious Alexander had his hands rough from the labour he had undergone, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, derived from his delicate and noble bringing up, this man, for the contrary reason, had a hard body. When, therefore, Augustus saw how the master and scholar agreed in this lying story, and in their audacious fiction, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what had become of him, who (according to his story) was stolen away also, and why he had not come with him, and endeavoured to recover the rights due to his high birth also? And he said, that he had been left in the island of Cyprus, for fear of the

dangers of the sea, that, in case anything should happen to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that had plotted against them. And as he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture bore him out, Augustus took the young man aside and said to him, “If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this; for this contrivance is too great a piece of villany to have been undertaken by one of thy age.” And as he had no other course to take, he told Augustus of the contrivance, and how, and by whom, it was made up. Then Augustus, observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands (for he would not break his promise to him) put him to row in his gallies, but had him executed who had induced him to do what he had done. As for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. Such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance in regard to this spurious Alexander.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienne.*

#### § 1.

WHEN Archelaus had taken over his ethnarchy, and returned to Judæa, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of having assisted the rebellious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother into his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace at Jericho, and diverted half the water with which the village of Neara<sup>1</sup> used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain, which he had planted with palm-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Naarah or Naarath of Josh. xvi. 7, now *Kh. el-Aujah*, in the Jordan valley.

trees. He also built a village which he called Archelais;<sup>1</sup> and he transgressed the law of our fathers<sup>2</sup> by marrying Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, who had three children by her, though it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry their brothers' wives. But Eleazar did not continue long in the high priesthood; Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

§ 2. Now in the tenth year of Archelaus' rule, the principal men of Judæa and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him to Augustus, especially as they knew he had broken the commands of the Emperor, namely to behave himself with moderation among them. And Augustus, when he heard this accusation, was very angry, and called for Archelaus' agent, who looked after his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bade this agent sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: and he made haste in his voyage, and when he reached Judæa, found Archelaus feasting with his friends; and he told him what Augustus had sent him for, and hurried him off. And when he reached Rome, Augustus, upon hearing what his accusers had to say, and his reply, banished him, and appointed Vienne,<sup>3</sup> a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

§ 3. Now, before Archelaus had gone up to Rome upon being summoned by Augustus, he related the following dream to his friends, that he saw ten ears of corn full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen. And when he woke (for the vision appeared to be of great importance to him) he sent for the wise men who understood dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the

<sup>1</sup> *Tell el-Mazár*, in the Jordan valley.

<sup>2</sup> Spanheim seasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when she had children by her first husband, and that Zenoras interprets the clause before us accordingly.—W.

<sup>3</sup> *Vienne*, on the left bank of the *Rhone*.

sect of the Essenes, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in its labours, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted further a change of affairs, because the land which was ploughed by oxen could not remain in its former state: and that the ears of corn being ten marked the same number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus' rule was over. Thus did this man expound the dream. Now, on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judæa by Augustus to recall him, arrived also.

§ 4. Something similar befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, and was married, as I said before, while she was a virgin, to Alexander the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but after Alexander was put to death by his father, she married Juba, the king of Libya, and when he was dead, and she living in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyra. And she, during her marriage to him, had the following dream. She thought she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection, but he complained of her, and said, "O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? and wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? and had we not children? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bore to thee, in thy desire for a second husband. Nor wast thou satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and impudent manner hast entered into my house, having married Archelaus, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from all reproach, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." When she had related this dream to her female companions, a few days after she departed this life.

§ 5. Now, I do not think these stories unsuitable in my

present history, because my narrative is now concerning kings; and besides I thought them fit to be set down, as they confirm the immortality of the soul, and the providence of God over human affairs. But if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another, that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. However Archelaus' country was added to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, who had been consul, was sent by Augustus to take a valuation of property in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

## BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS, TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

### CHAP. I.

*How Cyrenius was sent by Augustus to take a Valuation of Syria and Judæa; and how Coponius was sent to be Procurator of Judæa; also of Judas of Galilee, and the Sects that were among the Jews.*

#### § 1.

NOW Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other offices, and had passed through all till he became consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great merit, came at this time into Syria with a few others, being sent by Augustus to be a judge of that nation, and to take a valuation of their substance. Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Cyrenius also came into Judæa, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take a valuation of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus' money. But the Jews, although at first they took the report of a taxation very ill, yet left off any further opposition to it, at the persuasion of Joazar, who

was high priest, and the son of Boethus. For they listened to Joazar's words, and gave an account of their estates without any dispute. But one Judas,<sup>1</sup> a Gaulanite, of a city whose name was Gamala,<sup>2</sup> joining himself to Sadduc a Pharisee, was eager to draw them to a revolt. Both said that this taxation was nothing but a direct introduction of slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty, as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and if they failed in the happiness that would result from this, they would acquire honour and glory for magnanimity. They also said that God would not assist them unless they joined with one another energetically for success, and still further set about great exploits, and did not grow weary in executing the same. And the men heard what they said with pleasure, and so this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected by them to an incredible degree : one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pains ; there were also very great robberies, and murders of our principal men, under pretext indeed of the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of private gain. Hence arose seditions, and owing to them political murders, which sometimes fell on their own people, (from the madness of these

<sup>1</sup> Since St. Luke once, Acts v. 37, and Josephus four times, here, § 6, and xx. 5, § 2 ; Jewish War, ii. 8, § 1, and 17, § 8, calls this Judas, who was the pestilent author of that seditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewish nation to utter destruction, a Galilæan, but here, § 1, Josephus calls him a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, it is a great question where this Judas was born, whether in Galilee on the west side, or in Gaulanitis, on the east side of the river Jordan ; while in the place just now cited out of the Antiquities, xx. 5, § 2, he is not only called a Galilæan, but it is added to his story, 'as I have signified in the books that go before these,' as if he had called him a Galilæan in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dean Aldrich observes, Jewish War, ii. 8, § 1. Nor can one well imagine why he should here call him a Gaulanite, when in the 6th sect. following here, as well as twice in Jewish War, he still calls him a Galilæan. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing, since there were two of that name, the one in Gaulanitis, the other in Galilee. See Reland on the city or town of that name.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Kul'at el-Husn.*

men towards one another, and their desire that none of their rivals should be left,) and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also came upon us, and reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities, nay, faction at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by the enemies' fire. So greatly did the alteration and change from the customs of our fathers tend to bring all to destruction who thus banded together, for Judas and Sadduc, who introduced a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our state with tumults at the time, and laid the foundations of future miseries by their system of philosophy which we were before unacquainted with, concerning which I shall discourse a little, and that the rather, because the infection which spread thence among our younger men, who were zealous for it, brought our nation to destruction.

§ 2. The Jews had had for a great while three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves, the sect of the Essenes, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees. And although I have already spoken of these sects in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I touch a little upon them also now.

§ 3. As for the Pharisees, they live simply, and despise delicacies, and follow the guidance of reason, as to what it prescribes to them as good, and think they ought earnestly to strive to observe its dictates. They also pay respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced. And when they say that all things happen by fate, they do not take away from men the freedom of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it has pleased God to mix up the decrees of fate and man's will, so that man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an immortal power in them, and that there will be under the earth rewards or punishments, according as men have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter souls are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former will have power to live again. On account of these doctrines they have very great influence with the people, and whatever they do about divine worship, or

prayers, or sacrifices, they perform according to their direction. Such great testimony do the cities bear them on account of their constant practice of virtue, both in the actions of their lives, and in their conversation.

§ 4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is that souls die with the bodies; nor do they pretend to regard anything but what the law enjoins on them; for they think it virtue to dispute with the teachers of the philosophy which they follow, and their views are received by only a few, but those are of the highest rank. But they are able to do hardly anything so to speak, for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to do, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the people would not otherwise put up with them.

§ 5. The doctrine of the Essenes is that all things are left in the hand of God. They teach the immortality of souls, and think that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for. And when they send what they have dedicated to God to the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, and offer their sacrifices by themselves. But their course of life is better than that of other men, and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed in justice all other men that addict themselves to virtue, to such a degree as has never appeared among any other men, either Greeks or barbarians, and that not for a short time, but it has endured for a long while among them. This is shown by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer anything to hinder them from having all things in common, so that a rich man enjoys no more of his wealth than he who has nothing at all. There are more than four thousand men who live in this way, and they neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep slaves, thinking that the latter tempts men to be unjust, and that the former gives a handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister to one another. They also appoint good priests to receive their revenues, and the fruits of the ground, so as to get their corn and food. They live all

alike, and mostly resemble those Dacæ who are called Polistæ.<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. But Judas the Galilæan was the author of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy. Its pupils agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions, but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is their only ruler and lord. They also do not mind dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the tortures of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter; for I am not afraid that anything I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said comes short of the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus' time, who was our procurator, that the nation began to suffer from this madness, for by the abuse of his authority he made the Jews go wild and revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod and Philip built several Cities in Honour of Cæsar Augustus. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; also concerning Phraates and the Parthians.*

### § 1.

WHEN Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus' money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year after Augustus' victory over Antony off Actium,<sup>2</sup> he deprived Joazar of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest. Now Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled

<sup>1</sup> Founders of cities, that is. Possibly communists might be the best rendering. But the matter is very obscure.

<sup>2</sup> At the entrance of the Gulf of Arta.

affairs therein. Herod also fortified Sepphoris,<sup>1</sup> (which is the ornament of all Galilee,) and dedicated it to the emperor. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha,<sup>2</sup> which was itself a city also, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor's wife.<sup>3</sup> Philip also built Paneas,<sup>4</sup> a city at the springs of the Jordan, and called it Cæsarea. He also advanced the village Bethsaida,<sup>5</sup> situate near the lake of Gennesar, to the dignity of a city, both from the number of inhabitants it contained, and its opulence in other respects, and called it by the name of Julias, from the name of the emperor's daughter.<sup>6</sup>

§ 2. As Coponius, who I said was sent out with Cyrenius, was administrating Judæa, the following event happened. When the Jews celebrate the feast of Unleavened Bread, which we call the Passover, it is customary for the priests to open the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, these gates were first opened at this Passover, some of the Samaritans who had come privately to Jerusalem threw about dead men's bones in the porticoes; so the Jews afterwards excluded them all from the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. Soon after this event Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in the government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia Jamnia<sup>7</sup> and all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais,<sup>8</sup> where is a great plantation of palm-trees, whose fruit is most excellent. His successor was Annius Rufus, during whose term of office died Augustus, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years six months and two days, (of which time Antony ruled with him fourteen years,) and the duration of his life was seventy-seven years; and on his

<sup>1</sup> *Sefuriēh.*

<sup>2</sup> The Beth-Haram of Josh. xiii. 27; afterwards called Livias; it is now *Tell Rāmeh*, east of Jordan, and near the mouth of *Wâdy Hesbân*.

<sup>3</sup> *Julia.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cæsarea Philippi*, now *Bâniâs*.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *et-Tell*, on the left bank of the Jordan, near the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>6</sup> *Julia.*

<sup>7</sup> *Yebnah.*

<sup>8</sup> See Antiq. xvii. 13, § 1.

death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor, and he sent Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judæa, to succeed Annus Rufus. He deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ishmael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and appointed Eleazar, the son of Ananus (who had been high priest before) to be high priest; which office, when he had held it for a year, Gratus deprived him of, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus, and, when he had held that dignity only a year, Joseph, also called Caiaphas, was made his successor. When Gratus had done all these things, he returned to Rome, after he had stayed in Judæa eleven years, and Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

§ 3. And Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name as him, and called it Tiberias.<sup>1</sup> He built it in the best part of Galilee near the lake of Gennesar. There are warm baths at no great distance from it, in a village called Emmaus.<sup>2</sup> Strangers came and inhabited this city, a great number of the inhabitants were Galilæans also; and many were made to go there from the country belonging to Herod, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants, some of these being persons of condition. Herod also admitted poor people, gathered from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen, and these he was a great benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he knew that to colonize this place was to transgress the ancient Jewish laws, because many sepulchres there had to be taken away to make room for this city of Tiberias, and our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.<sup>3</sup>

§ 4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, for the following reason. Though Phraates had legitimate sons of his own, he had an amour with an Italian maid (whose name was

<sup>1</sup> *Tubariya.*

<sup>2</sup> The Hammath of Josh. xix. 35. Now *Hummám Tubariya.*

.<sup>3</sup> Numb. xix. 11-14.—W.

Thermusa, who had been formerly sent to him among other presents by Julius Cæsar), and being a great admirer of her beauty, and in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraataces, he eventually made her his legitimate wife, and held her in great honour. Now, though she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and strove to procure the throne of Parthia for her son, she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive to remove Phraates' legitimate sons. So she urged him to send those sons of his as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now, as Phraataces was alone brought up to succeed to the throne, he thought it very tiresome and tedious to wait for that throne by his father's donation as his successor; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother's assistance, with whom (so the report went), he had also criminal relations. And he was hated for both these things, as his subjects esteemed this incestuous love of his mother to be as bad as his parricide; and he was expelled out of the country by them, in an insurrection, before he grew too great, and so died. But, as the noblest of the Parthians agreed that it was impossible they could be governed without a king, while it was also their constant practice to choose one of the descendants of Arsaces (nor did their law allow of any others, and they thought the kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,) they sent ambassadors and invited Orodes [to take the crown;] for though the multitude did not like him, and though he was accused of very great cruelty, and was of an intractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet he was one of the descendants of Arsaces. However, a conspiracy was made against him, and he was slain, as some say, at a festival and at table (for it is the universal custom there to carry swords); but the more general report is that he was slain when he was induced to go a-hunting. They then sent ambassadors to Rome, and asked for one of those that were pledges there to be their king. And Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them, for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest

kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one. However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, being naturally of a fickle disposition, and supposing that he was not worthy to be their king (for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave, for so they called those that had been hostages, nor could they bear the ignominy of that name); and this was the more intolerable, because the Parthians were now to have a king set over them, not by right of war, but by insolence in time of peace. So they forthwith invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, who was one of the descendants of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. And Vonones met him, and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in battle array, and Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media; but a little while after he gathered a great army together, and fought again with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia.<sup>1</sup> And when Artabanus had slain a great number in the rout from the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he betook himself to Ctesiphon<sup>2</sup> with a great number of his people. And so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia, and as soon as he got there, he desired to have the government of that country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome about it. But as Tiberius refused it him, partly because he wanted courage, partly because of the Parthian king's threats (who sent ambassadors to threaten war), and as he had no other way to get the kingdom (for the people of authority among the Armenians near Niphates<sup>3</sup> joined themselves to Artabanus), he delivered himself up to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria,

<sup>1</sup> Near the junction with the Tigris of the great dyke which crossed Mesopotamia from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and was called the 'Royal River.'

<sup>2</sup> On the left bank of the Tigris, in the south part of Assyria. The ruins are opposite those of Seleucia, about sixteen miles below *Baghdad*.

<sup>3</sup> The mountain country east of Commagene, near the present Persian frontier.

and Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

§ 5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene,<sup>1</sup> whereupon the people disputed with the aristocracy, and both sent ambassadors to Rome, for the men in power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a Roman province; but the people desired to be under kings, as their fathers had been. And the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent out to settle affairs in the East, fortune hereby taking opportunity to deprive him of his life. For when he had gone to the East, and settled all affairs there, he was taken off by poison by Piso, as has been related elsewhere.

### CHAP. III.

*Insurrection of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ, and what befell Paulina and the Jews at Rome.*

#### § 1.

NOW Pilate, the procurator of Judæa, removed the army from Cæsarea, and put it in winter quarters at Jerusalem, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. And he thought of introducing into the city the Emperor's busts, which were upon the standards, whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such standards as had not such ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night-time. But as soon as they knew it, they flocked in great numbers to Cæsarea, and besought Pilate many days that he would remove the images. And when he would not grant their request, because it would seem an insult to the Emperor, as they persevered in their request, he ordered his soldiers on the sixth day to take their weapons privately, and

<sup>1</sup> Between Cilicia and the Euphrates; its capital was Samosata, now Samsât.

himself came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which was so prepared in the open part of the city, that it concealed the army that lay in ambush. And when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to surround them, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than speedy death, unless they left off disturbing him, and went their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and bared their necks, and said they would welcome death rather than that the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed. Thereupon Pilate was astonished at their determination to keep their laws inviolable, and instantly commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

§ 2. Pilate also introduced water into Jerusalem, paying for the work with the sacred money, and brought the water a distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what was done about this water; and many myriads of the people assembled together and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should abandon his intention. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused Pilate, as crowds love to do. So he dressed a great number of his soldiers in the Jewish dress, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround the Jews, and then himself bade the Jews go away. But as they began to abuse him, he gave the soldiers the signal which had been agreed on beforehand, and they laid about them with much greater vigour than Pilate had commanded, and equally punished those that were riotous, and those that were not. But the Jews abated not a whit their obstinacy, and as they were unarmed, and roughly handled by men provided with weapons, a great number of them were slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. Thus an end was put to this insurrection.

§ 3. Now about this time lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it be lawful to call him a man. For he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of men who receive the truth with pleasure; and drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the information of the leading men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him

at first did not cease to do so. For he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold this and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

§ 4. About the same time, also, another sad calamity troubled the Jews, and certain shameful practices took place in the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I shall first relate the wickedness done in the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of what befell the Jews. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina, who, on account of the rank of her ancestors, and because of the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation; she was also very rich, and although she was of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women are the most gay, she led a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, who well assorted in every way to her from his excellent character. Decius Mundus, a man very high in the equestrian order, fell in love with Paulina, and as she was of too great rank to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent her in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love for her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmæ for one enjoyment of her. And as not even this would prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this ill success in his amours, he thought it the best way to starve himself to death, on account of his trouble at Paulina's refusal. And he determined to die in this manner, and went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mundus had a freed-woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, a woman up to all sorts of mischief. She was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself (for he did not conceal his intention to destroy himself), and went to him, and encouraged him by her words, and made him hope that he might yet enjoy Paulina. And when he joyfully listened to her entreaty, she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmæ to entrap Paulina. Now when she had encouraged in this way the young man, and got as much money as she asked for, she did not take the same methods as had been taken

before, because she perceived that the lady was by no means to be tempted by money; but knowing that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem. She went to some of Isis' priests, and told them the passion of the young man, and with the strongest promises of concealment urged them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, twenty-five thousand drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had been done, to use all possible means to seduce the woman. And they were induced to promise to do so by the large sum of gold they were to have. So the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina, and upon his being admitted desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her that he was sent by the god Anubis, who had fallen in love with her, and bade her visit him. And she took the message very kindly, and boasted to her lady friends of this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and sleep with Anubis. And he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, being fully satisfied of the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when the lights were also put out in the inner sanctuary. Then did Mundus leap out, (for he was hidden there,) and did not fail to enjoy her, and she was at his service all the night long, supposing he was the god; and when he had gone away, which was before the priests who knew not of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina went home early in the morning to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her, and also boasted about the matter to her lady friends. And they partly disbelieved the thing when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, but had no pretext for not believing it, when they considered her modesty and merit. But on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Truly, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmæ, which sum thou mightest have given thine own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in what I asked of thee. As for the reproaches thou hast heaped upon Mundus, I care not about names; but I rejoice

in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, when I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way, but she rent her garments, now first knowing what she had done, and told her husband of this wicked and black contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her. And he discovered the matter to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into it thoroughly, examining the priests about it, and ordering them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the cause of their ruin, and had contrived the whole matter, which was so injurious to Paulina. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave orders that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber. But he only banished Mundus, and did no more to him, because he supposed that the crime he had committed was done from the violence of his love. These were the circumstances as to the temple of Isis, and the outrage done by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I said before I should.

§ 5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation of transgressing the laws, and by the fear he was in of punishment for the same, but he was in all respects a wicked man. He, then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and also got three other men, entirely of the same character as himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great rank, who had become a disciple of theirs, and embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem, and, when they had got these, they employed them to their own use, and spent the money themselves, which was the very reason why they had first asked it of her. Whereupon Tiberius (who had been informed of the thing by his friend Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it) ordered all the Jews to be banished from Rome. And the consuls enlisted four thousand of them, and sent them to the island of Sardinia;<sup>1</sup> but punished very many, who were unwilling to become soldiers, because of their respect

<sup>1</sup> Of the banishment of these 4,000 Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, see Suetonius, Tiber. § 36.—W.

for the laws of their forefathers. Thus were these Jews banished from Rome owing to the wickedness of four men.

## CHAP. IV.

*How the Samaritans made a Tumult, and how Pilate slew many of them : also how Pilate was accused, and what was done by Vitellius as regarded the Jews and the Parthians.*

### § 1.

BUT the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumult. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived everything to please the multitude. So he bade them assemble together upon Mount Gerizim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they came there, he would show them the sacred vessels that were buried there, because Moses had them put there. And they went there armed, and thought the statement of the man probable; and as they encamped at a certain village, which was called Tirathana,<sup>1</sup> they got together as many as they could, desiring to go up the mountain *en masse*. But Pilate prevented them by occupying the ascent with a band of horse and foot, who attacked those who were concentrated in the village ; and when it came to an action, they slew some, and put others to flight, and took a great many alive, the leaders of whom, and also the most influential of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be put to death.

§ 2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that had been killed, for they said they had gone to Tirathana not to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. And Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to see to the affairs of Judæa, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer the accusa-

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

tions of the Jews before the emperor. And Pilate, who had spent ten years in Judæa, hasted to Rome in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict. But before he got to Rome, Tiberius was dead.

§ 3. But Vitellius came into Judæa, and went up to Jerusalem ; it was at the time of that festival which is called the Passover. And as he was magnificently received there, Vitellius released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and allowed the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, to be under the charge of the priests in the temple, as they had been in old times, although at this time they were laid up in the fortress called Antonia,<sup>1</sup> and that for the following reason. One of the high priests called Hyrcanus, the first of many of that name, built a tower near the temple, and when he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and kept these vestments (which were in his charge) there, because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he deposited them there when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments ; and the same practice was continued by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner ; and because he was a friend of Antony, he called it by the name of Antonia. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, believing that the people would not rise against him because he had them in his custody. The same as Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was appointed king after him ; after whom the Romans, when they took over the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them deposited in a stone chamber, under seal of the priests and keepers of the treasury, the commandant of the fortress lighting a lamp there every day. And seven days before a festival they were delivered to them by the commandant of the fortress, when the high priest having purified them, and used them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before the very day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the

<sup>1</sup> On the north side of the Temple.

three yearly festivals, and on the fast day.<sup>1</sup> But Vitellius put these vestments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the commandant of the fortress not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. He also deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan (the son of Ananus, the former high priest,) to succeed him. After this he returned to Antioch.

§ 4. And Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to negotiate a friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for he was his enemy, and terrified him, as he had seized Armenia, lest he should proceed further, and Tiberius said he should only trust him upon Artabanus giving him hostages, and especially his son. Upon Tiberius' writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia,<sup>2</sup> and the king of Albania,<sup>3</sup> to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do so themselves, yet they gave the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates<sup>4</sup> to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and their leading men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to the kinsmen and friends of his father Artabanus, that he had almost got him slain by those who had taken the bribes. And when Artabanus

<sup>1</sup> This mention of the high priest's sacred garments received seven days before a festival, and purified in those days against a festival, as having been polluted by being in the custody of heathens, in Josephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmudists, as Reland here observes. Nor is there any question but the three feasts here mentioned were the Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles; and the Fast, so called by way of distinction, as Acts xxvii. 9, was the great day of expiation.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Iberia corresponds very nearly with the modern *Georgia*.

<sup>3</sup> On the S.W. shore of the Caspian, and embracing a portion of the Caucasus.

<sup>4</sup> The *Pass of Derbend*.

perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by many persons and by the leading men, so that it would certainly take effect, and compared the number of those who were truly faithful to him with those that were already corrupted, and deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, if any attempt were made upon him, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper satrapies. And he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and recovered his throne.

§ 5. When Tiberius heard of these things, he desired to have friendship negotiated between himself and Artabanus. And when, upon this invitation, Artabanus received the proposal kindly, he and Vitellius met at the Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them, attended by their guards, had an interview with one another in the middle of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent in the middle of the passage, and feasted them there. Artabanus also, not long afterwards, sent his son Darius to Tiberius as a hostage, with many presents, among which was a man seven cubits in height, a Jew by race, whose name was Eleazar, and who for his height was called Giant. After this Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylonia. And Herod, wishing to give Tiberius the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent letter-carriers, and accurately described all the particulars, and left nothing for the consular Vitellius to inform him of. So when Vitellius' letters were sent, and Tiberius let him know that he was acquainted with the affair already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much vexed at it; and supposing that he had been thereby more injured than was really the case, he nourished a secret anger for it, till he could be revenged on Herod, which was after Caius had succeeded to the empire.

§ 6. About this time Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This calculation is exactly right: for since Herod died about Sep-

after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis, and Batanæa also, thirty-seven years. He had shown himself a person of moderation and quietness in his rule. He always lived in the country which was subject to him, and used to make his progresses with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progresses, and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wherever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard the case; and ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that were accused unjustly. He died at Julias,<sup>1</sup> and when he was carried to the tomb which he had already had erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. Tiberius took his dominions, for he left no sons behind him, and added them to the province of Syria, but gave orders that the tribute collected in his tetrarchy should be kept in it.

## CHAP. V.

*Herod the Tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; also concerning the Death of John the Baptist; and how Vitellius went up to Jerusalem; together with some Account of Agrippa, and of the Posterity of Herod the Great.*

### § 1.

**A**BOUT this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petræa, and Herod, had a quarrel on the following account. Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a long time. But on his journey to Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother indeed, but

tember, in the fourth year before the Christian era, and Tiberius began, it is well known, August 19, A.D. 14, it is evident that the thirty-seventh year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the twentieth of Tiberius, or near the end of A.D. 33 (the very year of our Saviour's death also), or, however, in the beginning of the next year, A.D. 34. This Philip seems to have been the best of all the posterity of Herod, for his love of peace and love of justice.—W.

<sup>1</sup> Bethsaida. Julias. See p. 269, note 5.

not by the same mother; for this Herod<sup>1</sup> was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter. And he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, (who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great,) and ventured to talk to her of marriage. And as she agreed to his proposal, it was arranged that she should change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: it was also stipulated that he should divorce Aretas' daughter. When he had made this agreement, he sailed to Rome; and when he had done there the business he went about, and returned home again, his wife having heard of the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned of it before her husband was aware of her knowledge of his whole design, she desired him to send her to Machærus,<sup>2</sup> a fortress on the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her there, not thinking his wife had any inkling of his arrangement with Herodias. Now she had sent various things a good while before to Machærus, which was at that time subject to her father, and so all necessary preparations for her journey were made by the general of Aretas' army; and so she soon started and reached Arabia, passed on by one general to another, and soon got to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. And Aretas made this a *casus belli*, having previously had some difference with Herod about their frontiers in the district of Gamalitis.<sup>3</sup> So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and, when they joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treason of some fugitives, who, as they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, served under Herod. And Herod wrote about this to Tiberius, who, being very angry at the aggression of Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to make war upon him, and either to

<sup>1</sup> This Herod seems to have had the additional name of Philip, as Antipas was called Herod Antipas, and as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod Philip be two different sons of the same father.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekaur*, east of the *Dead Sea*.

<sup>3</sup> The district of Gamala, now *Kulat el-Husn*.

take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave the president of Syria.

§ 2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, who was called the Baptist. For Herod had had him put to death, though he was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to justice towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism ; for baptism would be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not in order to expiate some sins, but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, as many flocked to him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, fearing that the great influence John had over the people might lead to some rebellion, (for the people seemed likely to do any thing he should advise,) thought it far best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of his leniency when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, in consequence of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the fortress I before mentioned, and was there put to death. So the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and was a mark of God's displeasure at him.

§ 3. Now Vitellius prepared to make war upon Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men : he also took with him all the light-armed troops and cavalry with them, which were drawn from those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and pushed on for Petra,<sup>1</sup> and arrived at Ptolemais. And when he was going to lead his army through Judæa, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not march through their land ; for the laws of their country would not permit them to overlook images being brought into it, of which there were a great many on their standards. And he listened to what they said, and changed the resolution which he had before taken in

<sup>1</sup> The present Petra, east of the 'Arabah.

the matter, and ordered the army to march along the great plain, while he himself with Herod the tetrarch and his friends went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, as an ancient festival of the Jews was then at hand. And when he arrived there, and was honourably received by the people of the Jews, he stayed there for three days, during which time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother Theophilus; but on the fourth day, when letters came to him informing him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the people to take an oath of fidelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one go home to their winter quarters, because, as the empire had devolved upon Caius, he had not the same authority for making this war as he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the auguries, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius' should enter Petra; for one of the rulers would die, either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire to carry out his will, or else he against whom this army was prepared. And Vitellius retired to Antioch. Now Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, had gone to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted to do so. I have now a mind to describe at some length Herod and his family, and how it fared with them, partly because it concerns this history to speak of the matter, and partly because Herod's family history is a signal proof that a great number of children is of no advantage, any more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, apart from piety towards God: for it happened, within a hundred years, that the posterity of Herod, who were very numerous, with but few exceptions completely died out.<sup>1</sup> One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, to

<sup>1</sup> Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod the Great, which was very numerous, as we are both here and in the next section informed, was not in part as a punishment for the gross incests they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nephews and nieces, well deserves to be considered. See Levit. xviii. 6, 7; xxi. 10.—W.

learn thence how unhappy they were; it will also be well to relate the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond the expectation of all that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said something of them formerly, but I shall now speak more in detail.

§ 4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus; one was Salampsio, who married Phasaelus her cousin, who was himself the son of Herod's brother Phasaelus, her father making the match; the other was Cypros, who herself married her cousin Antipater, the son of Herod's sister Salome. Phasaelus had three sons by Salampsio, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros. Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, married this Cypros, and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by her no children. Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters; the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of whom Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty. And their father, Agrippa, was brought up with his other brothers Herod and Aristobulus, who were also the sons of *Aristobulus the son of Herod the Great* by Berenice; this Berenice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Herod's sister Salome. Aristobulus left these infants, when he and his brother Alexander were put to death by their father, as I have already related. But when they arrived at years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was the daughter of Herod the king), and of Joseph (the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the king), and had by her a son, Aristobulus. And Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa;<sup>1</sup> they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape. These so far are the children of the male line. And Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great by Mariamne the daughter of Simeon the high priest, and they had a daughter

<sup>1</sup> Now Homs.

Salome ; after her birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and married Herod [Antipas], (her husband's brother on the father's side,) who was tetrarch of Galilee. And her daughter Salome married Philip (the son of Herod), tetrarch of Trachonitis. And, as he died childless, Aristobulus (the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa) married her ; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus. This was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. And the daughter of Antipater by Cypros was Cypros, who married Alexas Helcias, the son of Alexas, and they had a daughter Cypros ; but Herod and Alexander, who, as I said, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was put to death by his father, he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus the king of Cappadocia ; Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless ; but Alexander had a son of the same name as his brother Tigranes, who was sent out as king of Armenia by Nero ; and he had a son, Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus, the king of Commagene;<sup>1</sup> Vespa-sian made him king of an island<sup>2</sup> in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks. And the rest of the daughters of Herod the king all died childless. And as the descendants of Herod, whom I have enumerated, were in existence when Agrippa the Great got the kingdom, and I have now given an account of their pedigree, it now remains that I relate the various vicissitudes that befell Agrippa, and how he lived through them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the island of Elæusa, near the river *Lamas*.

## CHAP. VI.

*How Agrippa sailed for Rome to Tiberius; and how, upon his being accused by his own freedman, he was put in prison; and how he was set at liberty by Caius, after Tiberius' death, and was made King of the Tetrarchy of Philip.*

## § 1.

A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa living at Rome, and being brought up with and very intimate with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius' son, also contracted a friendship with Antonia (the wife of the elder Drusus), who held his mother Berenice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now though Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and very generous in respect to giving, he did not manifest this inclination of his mind while his mother was alive, thinking it best to avoid her anger for such extravagance; but when Berenice was dead, and he was his own master, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily course of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly to the emperor's freedmen, hoping for their support, so that in a little time he was reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would be thereby revived.

§ 2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and set sail for Judæa, but in evil circumstances, being dejected by the loss of the money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and gave him no chance of avoiding them; so that he knew not what to do, and in shame at the state of his affairs, retired to a certain tower at Mala-tha<sup>1</sup> in Idumæa, and had thoughts of killing himself. But his wife Cypros perceived his intention, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently *Tell el-Milh*, thirteen miles east of Beersheba.

So she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and the necessities that drove him to it, and desired her, as a kinswoman of his, to help him and to engage her husband to do the same, as Herodias could see how she (Cypros) alleviated her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the means they had. And they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and assigned him some money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honouring him. However, Herod did not long continue in the resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him. For as they were once at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups abused one another, Agrippa thought it was not to be borne, that Herod threw in his teeth his poverty, and his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, who had been consul, and a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

§ 3. And Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but they both received equal honour from him. However, Aristobulus did not abate his ill-will to Agrippa, till at length he got him to be on bad terms with Flaccus, bringing on the estrangement as follows. The Damascenes had a difference with the Sidonians about their frontiers, and when Flaccus was about to hear the case pleaded, on hearing that Agrippa had great influence with him, they begged that he would be on their side, and promised him a great deal of money. So he was zealous in assisting the Damascenes as far as he was able; but Aristobulus (who had got intelligence of this promise of money) accused him to Flaccus. And when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly to be so, Flaccus discontinued his friendship to Agrippa. So he was reduced to the utmost straits, and went to Ptolemais,<sup>1</sup> and because he knew not where else to get

<sup>1</sup> 'Akka.

a livelihood, he thought of sailing to Italy. But as he was prevented from doing so by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freedman, to find some method of procuring him as much money as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing it of some person or other. So Marsyas desired Peter, who was the freedman of Agrippa's mother Berenice, but by virtue of her testament belonged to Antonia, to lend Agrippa money upon his own bond and security ; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond for 20,000 Attic drachmæ, to accept 2,500 drachmæ less than that sum. This the other allowed because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa went to Anthedon,<sup>1</sup> and took shipping, and was going to set sail ; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia,<sup>2</sup> sent a band of soldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmæ of silver, which were owing by him to the emperor's treasury at Rome, and tried to force him to stay. He pretended at the time that he would do as he was told, but when night came on, he cut cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexander the Alabarch to lend him 200,000 drachmæ ; but he said he would not lend it him, but did not refuse it to Cypros, as he greatly admired her affection to her husband, and all her other virtue ; and she undertook to repay it. And Alexander gave them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay them the rest of the sum at Dicæarchia,<sup>3</sup> and this he did from the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. And Cypros, having thus set her husband free to sail on to Italy, returned to Judæa with her children.

§ 4. And when Agrippa reached Puteoli, he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Capreæ,<sup>4</sup> and told him that he was come so far to wait on him and pay him a visit, and asked that he would give him leave to come over to Capreæ. And Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects, and also told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreæ ; and when he was come he did not

<sup>1</sup> Agrippias. See Antiq. xiii. 13, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Puteoli, Pozzuoli.

<sup>2</sup> Yebnah.

<sup>4</sup> The island of Capri.

fail to welcome him and treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to the emperor from Herennius Capito, informing him, that Agrippa had borrowed 300,000 drachmæ, and not paid it at the time appointed ; but, when it was demanded of him, had run away like a fugitive from the places in his jurisdiction, and had put it out of his power to get the money from him. When Tiberius had read this letter he was much vexed at it, and gave orders that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence until he had paid the debt. But he, being no way dismayed at the emperor's anger, entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and also of Claudius, who was afterwards emperor himself, to lend him those 300,000 drachmæ, that he might not lose Tiberius' friendship. And she, out of regard to the memory of Berenice his mother (for these two women had been very intimate with one another), and out of regard to his having been brought up with Claudius, lent him the money, and, upon the payment of his debt, his friendship with Tiberius continued as before. After this, Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson,<sup>1</sup> and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went out. But Agrippa, after the kind treatment of Antonia, paid great court to Caius, who was her grandson, and was held in very high honour because of the popularity of his father.<sup>2</sup> Now there was one Thallus, a freedman of Tiberius, a Samaritan by race, of whom Agrippa borrowed a million drachmæ, and so repaid Antonia the debt he owed her, and by spending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, he became a person of great influence with him.

§ 5. Now as the friendship which Agrippa had with Caius rose to a great height, they once had a conversation about Tiberius, as they were in a chariot together, Agrippa praying (for they two sat by themselves) that Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the empire to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it. Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freedman, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at the time said nothing about them : but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some

<sup>1</sup> Tiberius junior.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Germanicus.—W.

garments of his (which he really did steal) he ran away from him ; and when he was captured and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and asked why he ran away ? he replied, that he had something private to say to Tiberius, that regarded his security and safety : so Piso sent him in bonds to Capreæ. And Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him in bonds, being a procrastinator, if ever king or tyrant was so ; for he did not receive ambassadors quickly, and no successors were despatched to governors or procurators of provinces that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead. This made him also negligent in hearing prisoners. And when he was once asked by his friends, what was the reason of his delay in such cases ? he said, that he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest, upon their quick dismissal, other ambassadors should be appointed, and return to him ; and so he should bring trouble upon himself by their receptions and dismissals. He said also that he permitted those governors who had been once sent to their governments to stay there a long time from regard to the subjects that were under them ; for all governors were naturally disposed to get as much as they could, and those who were not to remain there, but to stay a short time only, and that in uncertainty when they would be turned out, were all the more tempted to fleece the people. Whereas, if their government was long continued to them, they were at last satiated with their spoil, as having got a great deal, and so became less keen in their pillaging ; but if a rapid succession of governors took place, the poor subjects, who were exposed to them as a prey, would not be able to bear the new ones, for they would not have the same time allowed them, as their predecessors had filled themselves in, and so grown indifferent to getting more, because they would be recalled too soon for making a rich harvest otherwise. He gave them an illustration to show his meaning. A great number of flies swarmed about the sore places of a man that had been wounded ; upon which one of the bystanders pitied the man's misfortune, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him. But he prayed him to let them alone, and when the other asked him in rejoinder the reason of such indiscretion in not getting relief from

his present misery, he replied, “ If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse. For as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are somewhat more remiss, while fresh ones that came almost famished, and found me quite tired out already, would be my destruction.” Tiberius said this was why he was himself careful not to send new governors perpetually to his subjects (who were already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions), who, like these flies, would further distress them, and, besides their natural desire of gain, would have this additional incitement to it, that they expected to be soon deprived of the pleasure which they derived from it. And, as a further attestation to what I say of the character of Tiberius, I appeal to his practice itself; for, although he was emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all only two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, namely Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor had he one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He also gave out that he made such delay in hearing prisoners, because immediate death to those that were condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries, whereas those wicked wretches did not deserve any such favour; but their being harassed by the anticipation of calamity would make them undergo greater misery.

§ 6. This was why Eutychus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in bonds. However, some time afterwards, Tiberius went from Capreæ<sup>1</sup> to Tusculanum,<sup>2</sup> which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome, and Agrippa asked Antonia to procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, not only from her connexion with him (for she was his brother Drusus’ wife), but also from her eminent chastity; for though she was still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to marry somebody, and all her life long preserved her reputation free from reproach. She had also been privately

<sup>1</sup> The island of *Capri*.

<sup>2</sup> The villa of Tiberius at *Tusculum*.

the greatest benefactress to Tiberius when there was a very dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest power at that time because he was in command of the army, and when many members of the senate, and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiers were tampered with, and the plot became very formidable, and Sejanus would certainly have gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus' villainy. For when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallas, the most faithful of her slaves, and sent him to Capreae to Tiberius; and Tiberius, when he heard of it, slew Sejanus and his fellow-conspirators, and though he had held Antonia in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and regarded her as trustworthy in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus has falsely accused Agrippa in what he has said of him, he has had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination, the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, in desire of punishing his freedman, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's continually importuning her to beg for this, seized the following opportunity. As Tiberius once reclined in his litter, and was being carried about in it, and Caius, her grandson, and Agrippa walked before him, after dinner, she went close to the litter, and begged Tiberius to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antonia! the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy entreaty." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who had succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; and he was brought without any delay. Then Tiberius asked him what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty. Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, and I sat at their feet, and among other con-

versation that passed, Agrippa said to Caius, ‘O that the day would come, when this old man would die, and appoint thee as master of the world! for Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hindrance to us, if taken off by thee, and the world would be happy, and I should be happy still more.’’ Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa’s words, and having an old grudge also at Agrippa, because, when he had commanded him to pay court to Tiberius his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had neglected him, and disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his homage to Caius, he said to Macro, “Bind this person.” But Macro, not distinctly knowing whom it was he bade him bind, and not expecting that he would wish any such thing done to Agrippa, delayed until he should know more distinctly what Tiberius meant. But, when Tiberius had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing there, and said “Why, Macro, here is the person I meant to have bound;” and when he still asked, “Which of them?” he said “Agrippa.” Then Agrippa betook himself to making supplication for himself, reminding him of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated: but all to no purpose, for they took him off bound in his purple robe. It was also very hot weather, and they had had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also distressed and vexed at this treatment. Seeing therefore one of Caius’ slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink. And as he readily gave him some water to drink, he drank, and said, “Boy! this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get rid of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom from Caius, seeing thou hast not been wanting to minister to me, though I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity.” Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but requited him for what he had done, for, when Agrippa afterwards came to be king, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him manager of his affairs, and when he died, left him to Agrippa his son, and to Berenice his daughter, to minister to them in the

same capacity. Thaumastus also grew old in that honourable post, and died in it. But all this happened some time afterwards.

§ 7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, with many others who were in bonds also, and leaned against a certain tree in dejection, and as a certain bird sat upon the tree against which Agrippa leaned, (the Romans call this bird *bubo*,<sup>1</sup>) one of those that were bound, a German by nation, seeing the bird, asked a soldier who that man in purple was. And when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by race a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound,<sup>2</sup> to let him come nearer to him, to speak with him; for he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country. And when he had obtained leave, he stood near him, and spoke as follows to him by an interpreter. "This sudden change of thy condition, young man! troubles thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get rid of this present misery, and how divine Providence will provide for thee. Know therefore (and I appeal to my own country's gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us,) that all I am going to say about thy concerns, shall neither be said to please thee by its babbling, nor in the endeavour to cheer thee without cause, for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief in the end more bitter than if one had never heard them at all. However, though I expose myself to danger by so doing, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shalt continue long in these bonds, but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and wilt be envied by all who now pity thy fortunes, and wilt be happy in thy death, and wilt leave happiness to thy children. But remember, whenever thou seest this bird again, thou wilt then live but five days

<sup>1</sup> That is, owl.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hudson here takes notice, out of Seneca, Epistle v., that this was the custom of Tiberius, to couple the prisoner, and the soldier that guarded him, together with the same chain.—W.

longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who has sent this bird here to be a sign unto thee. I think it wrong to conceal from thee what I foresee concerning thee, that by thy knowing beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest lightly regard thy present misfortunes. But when this happiness shall come to thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me." When the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart: however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she saw to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable; but she got leave of Macro, that the soldiers that guarded him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was bound to him, should be of the same disposition, and that he might bathe every day, and that his freedmen and friends might have access to him, and that other things that tended to ease his body might be allowed him. So his friend Silas had access to him, and two of his freedmen, Marsyas and Stocheus, brought him such kind of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretence of selling them, and, when night came on, laid them under him, and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had ordered beforehand. Such was Agrippa's condition for six months, and such was the state of his affairs.

§ 8. As for Tiberius, on his return to Capreæ, he fell ill. At first his illness was but mild, but as it increased upon him, he was anxious about his condition, and bade Euodus, who was the freedman whom he most of all valued, to bring the children to him; for he said he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had no longer any sons of his own alive; for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead; but Drusus' son Tiberius was still living, who was also called Gemellus. There was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son of his brother. [Drusus]. He was now grown up, and had finished his education, and was in esteem and favour with the people because of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honour among the

multitude by his consistent behaviour, and the easiness and affability of his intercourse with the multitude, for the rank he had did not hinder his treating all persons as if they were his equals. In consequence of this behaviour he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but also by every one of the nations that were subject to the Romans; some of whom were captivated, when they met him, with the grace of their reception by him, and others by the report of those who had met him. So upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men, not counterfeit sorrow such as is made in flattery to rulers, but real sorrow, for everybody grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. So affable was he to all men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and the soldiers in particular were so devoted to him, that they reckoned it a gain, if need were, to die, if he might but become emperor.

§ 9. Now when Tiberius had given orders to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country's gods to show him a manifest sign which of the two should be his successor, being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still intending to depend more upon what God should foreshow concerning them, than upon his own opinion and inclination. So he made this to be the omen, that the empire should belong to him who should come first to him the next day. When he had thus resolved, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, supposing that God would not interfere about who should be made emperor. But God thwarted his intention. For as Tiberius was thus contriving matters, directly it was day, he bade Euodus to call in the child which should be ready there first. And he went out, and found Caius before the door, (for Tiberius was not yet come, for his breakfast was late, and Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended,) so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee," and brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, he reflected then first on the power of God, and how the power of bestowing the empire on whom he would was entirely taken from him, and so he was not able to make good what he had intended. And he greatly lamented

that the power of carrying out his intention was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his mode of divination, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more powerful than himself, who would think it a thing insufferable that a kinsman should live with them, and so his relationship would not be able to protect him, but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, partly because he would be perpetually plotting, not only to preserve himself, but also to be at the head of affairs. Now Tiberius was very much given to the casting of nativities, and had spent his life more successfully in the science than those whose profession it was. For example, when he once saw Galba coming to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that there came a man that would one day have the rank of Roman emperor. And Tiberius was more addicted to all sorts of divinations than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to reveal the truth about his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress at this chance that had befallen him, and was very much grieved about his grandson as if he were already murdered, and vexed with himself that he should have made use of such a method of divination, when it was in his power to have died without grief in ignorance of the future, whereas he must now die tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortunes of such as were dearest to him. But although he was troubled at this unexpected succession to the empire of those for whom he did not intend it, he spoke as follows to Caius, though unwillingly and against his inclination : "O child ! though Tiberius is nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination and the vote of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire. And I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, in setting thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relationship to Tiberius; and as thou knowest that I am, together with and after the gods, the procurer of such great blessings to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relationship to

thee. Besides which, thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a bulwark to thee, both as to the empire and as to thy own preservation ; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes ; for to be alone under the weight of such vast affairs is very dangerous ; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to the law which directs men to act otherwise, to go unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised to do so, for when he was settled in the empire, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by his grandfather, as he was also himself, no long time afterwards, slain by a conspiracy formed against him.

§ 10. After Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he lived only a few days, and then died, after he had been emperor twenty-two years, five months, and three days. Now Caius was the fourth emperor. And when the Romans heard that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it, not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might prove to be so, but because they were afraid, if they showed their joy prematurely, and the news proved false, they would be accused and ruined. For this Tiberius had brought a vast load of misery on the patrician families of the Romans, for he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger uncontrollable till he had wreaked it, even though he hated anyone without reason, for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences. And so, though the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the full enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their hopes proved ill grounded. Now as soon as Marsyas, Agrippa's freedman, heard of Tiberius' death, he came running to tell Agrippa the news ; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead."<sup>1</sup> And he, understanding his meaning, and being

<sup>1</sup> The name of a lion is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freedman Marsyas, in effect were,

delighted at the news, said, “All thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine: I only hope that what thou sayest may prove true.” Now the centurion, who was set to guard Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had at what he said, suspected that his words announced something startling, and asked them about the subject of their conversation. They at first turned the subject, but, upon his further pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him (for he was already his friend), and he joined with him in the pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But, as they were feasting and drinking merrily, there came one who said, that Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days. At this news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, in feasting so jovially a prisoner, and that upon the news of the death of the emperor; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he reclined, and said, “Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? and shalt not thou pay for this report at the price of thine head?” When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again, (for he had loosed him before,) and kept a severer guard over him than formerly. In that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead, insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius, one of them to the senate, informing them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own succession to the empire, another to Piso, the governor of the city, which announced the same thing. Caius also gave orders that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to the house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for, although he was still in custody, yet he had considerable freedom. And as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius’ body

Ezek. xix. 1, 2; Esth. xiv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to or represented by wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. Dan. vii. 3, 8; Apoc. xiii. 1, 2.—W.

with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day, but Antonia hindered him, not out of any ill-will to the prisoner, but from regard to decency in Caius, lest it should make men believe that he heard of the death of Tiberius with pleasure, if he set free so soon one whom Tiberius had put in bonds. However, not many days elapsed before Caius sent for Agrippa to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment, after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias,<sup>1</sup> and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent out Marullus to be master of the horse in Judæa.

§ 11. Now, in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar, Agrippa asked for leave to sail home, and settle affairs in his kingdom, and promised to return again when he had put everything in order, as it ought to be put. And, upon the emperor's permission, he returned to his own country, and appeared before all men unexpectedly as king, and thereby demonstrated to those that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present prosperity. And some called him a happy man, because he had not been foiled of his hopes, others could scarce believe what had happened.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Herod the Tetrarch was exiled to Lugdunum.*

### § 1.

BUT Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who was wife of that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, was envious of this authority of her brother, particularly as she saw that he had far greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had, though, when he ran away, he

<sup>1</sup> Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn, *Antiq. xix. 5, § 1.*—W.

was not able to pay his debts, but now he was come back, he had great position and prosperity. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a change, and especially when she saw him walking about among the multitude with the usual marks of royal authority, and was not able to conceal how miserable she was from her envy, but she incited her husband, and begged him to sail to Rome, to court honours equal to Agrippa's: for she said life was unbearable for them, if Agrippa (the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to death by his father), who came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that all the necessaries of life had to be supplied him day by day, and had fled away from his creditors by sea, now returned a king, while he himself, the son of a king, whom his near relationship to royalty called upon to claim the same dignity, sat still, and was contented with a private life. "And if," she continued, "before, Herod, you did not mind being in a lower condition than your father, who begot you, had, yet now at any rate seek after a similar dignity; and do not bear this come down that a man who has paid court to your riches should be in greater honour than yourself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance; nor esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one, who, the other day, lived upon your charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains or expenditure of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for procuring a kingdom."

§ 2. As for Herod, he opposed her request for a time, from his love of ease, and a suspicion that he would have trouble at Rome, and he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned to be king: and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, in as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias with him. And Agrippa, when he heard of their intention and preparations, also made his preparations. And as soon as he heard they had set sail, he sent

Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to speak to Caius himself, if he should have an opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little time after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius, he also arrived, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicæarchia,<sup>1</sup> and found Caius at Baiæ,<sup>2</sup> which is itself a little town in Campania, about five furlongs from Dicæarchia. There are in that place royal palaces with sumptuous apartments, each emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also has warm baths that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and also minister to men's luxury. Now Caius simultaneously addressed Herod (it was the first time he had met with him) and looked at the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in accusation of Herod, wherein he was accused of having been in conspiracy with Sejanus against Tiberius' government, and of being now confederate with Artabanus, the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius, as a proof of which Agrippa said that Herod had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod, whether what was said about the armour was true. And when he admitted there was such armour there (for he could not deny it, the truth of it being too notorious), Caius took that as a sufficient proof of the accusation that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa, and punished Herod by perpetual exile, and appointed Lugdunum,<sup>3</sup> a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of the money that was her own, and told her, that it was only her brother who prevented her sharing the calamity of her husband. But she replied, " You, indeed, O emperor! say this in a magnificent manner, and as be-

<sup>1</sup> Puteoli, *Pozzuoli*.<sup>2</sup> *Baja*.<sup>3</sup> *Lyon*.

comes you, but the love which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of your gift; for it is not right that I, who have been a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Thereupon Caius was angry at her pride, and sent her into exile with Herod, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy of her brother, and Herod for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius administered public affairs with great magnanimity during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gained the good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he thought himself because of the vast extent of his dominions as something more than a man, and made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things so as to insult the Deity.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the Embassage of the Jews to Caius, and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his Statue.*

## § 1.

NOW a tumult having arisen at Alexandria between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks, three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who greatly slandered the Jews, and, among other things that he said, charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to the emperor; for while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in all other respects treated him as one of the gods, these Jews alone thought it unseemly to erect statues in honour of him, or to swear by his name. When Apion had said many of these severe things, by which he hoped to exasperate Caius against the Jews, as was likely to be the case, Philo, the principal person of the Jewish embassage, a

man eminent on all accounts, and the brother of Alexander the Alabarch,<sup>1</sup> and not unskilled in philosophy, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations. But Caius prohibited him, and bade him be gone, and was also in such a rage, that it was clear he was about to do them some very great mischief. And Philo having been thus ill treated went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that they ought to be of good courage, for Caius' words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality he had already set God against him as an enemy.

§ 2. Then Caius, indignant that he should be thus despised by the Jews only, sent Petronius as his lieutenant to Syria, and as successor in the government to Vitellius, and gave him orders to invade Judæa with a large force, and, if they would admit his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God, but, if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius took over the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Caius' injunctions. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and went to Ptolemais<sup>2</sup> to winter there, intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had determined to do, and he commended him for his energy, and ordered him not to be slack in the work, but to make war with them, if they would not obey his commands. Then many ten thousands of the Jews went to Ptolemais to Petronius, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers. "But if (said they) you are absolutely determined to bring this statue and erect it, first kill us, and then do what you have resolved on; for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things to be done as are forbidden us by the authority of our legislator and our forefathers, who have decided that such prohibitions are proofs of virtue." But Petronius was angry with them, and said,

<sup>1</sup> This Alexander the Alabarch, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by Bishop Pearson to be the same as that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high priests, Acts iv. 6.—W.

<sup>2</sup> Akka, St. Jean d'Acre.

"If I were myself emperor, and meant to follow my own will in acting thus, these words of yours would be properly spoken to me, but now the emperor has sent me, I am under the necessity of carrying out his decrees, because disobedience to them would bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since, therefore, you are so disposed, O Petronius, that you will not disobey Caius' commands, neither will we transgress the bidding of our law; and as we, relying on God and virtue, and the efforts of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws, which God has ordered for our advantage, from the fear of death. And if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them in order to preserve our laws, knowing that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, if, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertainties of fortune. But, if we should submit to you, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as thereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even in your own judgment, is superior to Caius."

§ 3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was fixed, and that he would not be able without a war to obey Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there would be a great deal of bloodshed, he took his friends and retinue, and pushed on to Tiberias, wishing to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were. And many ten thousand of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias, for they thought they would run a mighty hazard if they should have war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means reduce them to such straits, nor defile their city with the erection of Caius' statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you war then with the emperor, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" And they replied, "We will not by any means war with him, but we will die before we see our laws transgressed." Then they threw them-

selves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain. And this they did for forty days together, and in the meantime left off the tilling of their ground, though the season of the year required them to sow it. Thus firm did they continue in their resolution, and proposal to die willingly, rather than to see the erection of Caius' statue.

§ 4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family, and the leading Jews with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, since he saw the determination of the multitude, not to drive them to despair, but write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable aversion to the reception of his statue, and how they assumed a hostile attitude, and left off the tillage of their ground: and that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, if the land continued unsown, robberies would be on the increase, from their inability of paying tribute. They added that perhaps Caius would be thereby moved to pity, and not entertain any savage idea, or think of destroying the nation, but if he continued inflexible in his former opinion to war against them, he might then set about it himself. Thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. And Petronius,<sup>1</sup> partly on account of the earnest entreaties of Aristobulus and the rest, and because of the great importance of what they asked, and the skilful way in which they made their supplication; partly because he saw the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, and thought it monstrous for him so to carry out the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and to pass all

<sup>1</sup> This Publius Petronius was after this still president of Syria, under Claudius, and, at the desire of Agrippa, published a severe decree against the inhabitants of Dora, who, in a sort of imitation of Caius, had set up a statue of Claudius in a Jewish synagogue there. This decree is extant, xix. 6, § 3, and greatly confirms the present accounts of Josephus, as do the other decrees of Claudius, relating to the like Jewish affairs, xix. 5, § 2, 3.—W.

his life after that in remorse ; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to write to Caius, although he knew what intolerable rage he would be in against him for not obeying sooner his commands. But perhaps he thought he might persuade him, or if this mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them ; nay, even if Caius should turn his anger against him (Petronius), it was good for persons who laid claim to virtue even to die for such vast multitudes of men. So he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

§ 5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias (who came many ten thousands in number), and went up to them, and pointed out that the present expedition was not undertaken at his own option, but at the commands of the emperor, whose wrath would immediately and without delay be executed on such as had the temerity to disobey what he had commanded ; nor was it fit for him, who had obtained such great honour by his favour, to contradict him in any thing. " Yet," added he, " I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, as you are so many in number, and endeavour to preserve the respect due to your law (which because it has come down to you from your forefathers, you esteem worth fighting for) and to the supreme authority and power of God, whose temple I will not venture to allow to fall into contempt by the imperial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your determination is, and will assist your suit as far as I am able, that you may not suffer on account of the virtuous designus you have proposed to yourselves. And may God be your helper (for his authority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men), and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and not be deprived, by the unreasonable wishes of men, of his accustomed honours ! But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all the danger and affliction that may come either upon my body or soul, than see so many of you perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your ways about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your land. I will myself send

to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, either by myself or by my friends."

§ 6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired those in authority to see to the cultivation of the fields, and to encourage the people to hope for better things. Thus did he soon make the multitude cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down at once great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation, for the day was a clear day in the morning, and gave no indication by the appearance of the sky of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any rain from above, even if at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; so that when such a great quantity of rain fell then, and that in an unusual manner, and without any expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would not fail in his supplication for them. And as to Petronius, he was amazed, evidently seeing that God took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, so that those that were actually much inclined to a contrary opinion were unable to contradict it. This also among other particulars he wrote to Caius, all tending to dissuade him from his purpose, and entreating him by all means not to drive so many ten thousands of these men mad, whom if he should slay (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them through all future ages. He added that God, who was their protector, had shown his power most clearly, and that such a power as left no room for doubt about it. Such was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

§ 7. Now king Agrippa, who at this time chanced to be living at Rome, grew more and more in favour with Caius; and when he had once made him a feast, and was careful to exceed all others, both in the expense of the feast, and in such preparations as might contribute to his pleasure, which were not only far out of the means of all others, but such

as Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed (such care did Agrippa take to exceed all men, and particularly to do all he could to please the emperor), Caius admired his generous disposition and magnificence, that he should strive to do every thing to please him even beyond his means, and wished to imitate the generosity which Agrippa exhibited in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drunk wine plentifully, and was merrier than usual, said during the feast, when Agrippa urged him to drink, “ I knew before now what great regard you had for me, and what great kindness you showed me, though with risk to yourself from Tiberius, nor have you omitted anything to show your good-will towards me, even beyond your means. So, as it would be a base thing for me to come short of you in affection, I am desirous to make you amends for every thing in which I have been formerly deficient. For all that I have bestowed on you, that may be called my gifts, is but little; every thing therefore that may contribute to your happiness shall be at your service, and that gladly, and as far as my power will reach.” And this Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some province or the revenues of certain cities. But, although he had made up his mind beforehand what he would ask, yet did he not discover his intentions, but made answer to Caius immediately, that it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid court to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing to please him with an eye to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him: for the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a grasping man; for, although they might be beneath the emperor’s power, they were greater than the expectation and merit of the receiver. And, as Caius was amazed at Agrippa’s virtue, and pressed him still more to make his request for something which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, “ Since, my lord! you declare, such is your liberality, that I am worthy of your gifts, I will ask nothing that will contribute to my own happiness, for what you have already bestowed on me has made me remarkable for that; but I ask something which may make you glorious for piety, and render the Deity a helper of your designs,

and may be an honour to me among those that hear of it, as showing that I never fail to obtain what I ask of you. Now my petition is this, that you will no longer think of the dedication of the statue which you have ordered Petronius to set up in the Jewish temple."

§ 8. Thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so important was the matter in his opinion, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was so to speak ; for, had not Caius approved of his request, it would have tended to no less than the loss of his life. But Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and also thought it unseemly to break his word before so many witnesses, as he had with such eagerness forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and thought it would look as if he soon repented of his offer, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with large revenues, or greater authority, but in thinking of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the Deity, granted him what he requested, and wrote as follows to Petronius, commanding him for mustering his army, and consulting him about this affair. " If (he said,) thou hast already erected my statue, let it continue up ; but, if thou hast not yet done so, do not trouble thyself further about it, but dismiss thy army, and go to the business which I sent thee about first, for I have now no occasion for the erection of the statue. I have granted this as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly, that I am not able to refuse him what he would have, or what he has desired me to do for him." Now Caius wrote this to Petronius, before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were ripe for revolt about the statue, and that they seemed absolutely resolved to threaten war against the Romans. Upon receipt of this letter Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his supreme authority, being as he was a slave to base and vicious actions on all occasions, and paying no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and if he resolved to show his anger against any one for any reason whatever, suffering not himself to be restrained by any advice, but thinking the indulging his anger a real pleasure. So he wrote as follows to Petronius. " Seeing thou

esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value than my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that none may dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

§ 9. This was the letter which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive; the ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before it, by which he learned that Caius was dead. For God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken to gratify the Jews, and to do him honour, but when he had taken Caius off in indignation at his so insolently attempting to claim for himself divine worship, he discharged his debt to Petronius. And Rome and all the empire co-operated with Petronius, especially those of the senators that were of most merit, because Caius had been unmercifully severe to them. For Caius died not long after he had written to Petronius the letter which threatened him with death; but as to the cause of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of my narrative. Now the letter which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterwards came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. And Petronius rejoiced at this circumstance of the death of Caius, and at the same time marvelled at the providence of God, who without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had had to the temple, and for the assistance he had afforded the Jews. Thus easily and unexpectedly did Petronius escape the danger of death.

## CHAP. IX.

*What befell the Jews that were in Babylon, because of two Brothers, Asinæus and Anilæus.*

## § 1.

A DREADFUL calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. It was inferior to none, and accompanied by great slaughter of them, and that greater than any recorded before; concerning all which I shall speak explicitly, and set forth the causes of their calamity. There was a city in Babylonia called Naarda,<sup>1</sup> not only a populous one, but one that had a fertile and large territory round it, and, besides its other advantages, was full of men also. It was also not easy to be assaulted by enemies, because the river Euphrates encompassed it all round, and because it had strong walls. There was also the city Nisibis,<sup>2</sup> situate on the same current of the river. So the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel<sup>3</sup> which every one, by the custom of our country, offers to God, as well as they did other things devoted to him, for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at the proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook to carry those donations, from fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom Babylonia was then subject. Now, there were two brothers, Asinæus, and Anilæus, natives of the city of Naarda, who had lost their father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving, it not being esteemed a disgrace among those people for men to spin wool. Now, he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes: and they took this punishment as an outrage, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few, and went into a cer-

<sup>1</sup> Called in the Peutinger, Table Naharra; it was not far from Sippara.

<sup>2</sup> Now Nisibin.

<sup>3</sup> Compare St. Matthew, xvii. 24.

tain place where was a partition of the rivers, a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for getting hay to be stored up for the winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had got, and became their captains, and nothing hindered them from being their leaders in mischief. And they soon became invincible, and built a citadel, and sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, and stated that they would be their friends if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their enemies on every side, but that they would kill all the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals (for they could do nothing else), and sent them as many sheep as were required of them, so that their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they made sudden and unexpected raids, so that everybody who had to do with them chose to pay them court, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

§ 2. Now when the satrap of Babylonia heard of this, desiring to nip them in the bud, before greater mischief should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them, before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped in the marshes, and lay still, but on the next day, (which was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all work,) supposing that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he could take and carry them off prisoners without fighting, he advanced stealthily, and thought to take them by surprise. Now Asinæus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay beside them, and he said, "Men, I hear a neighing of horses, not of such as are feeding, but such as have riders on their backs, for I also hear the noise of their bridles, and am afraid that some enemies are stealing upon us to surround us. However, let somebody go and reconnoitre,

and make a sure report of the present state of things ; and may what I have said prove a false alarm ! ” And when he had said this, some of them went to spy out what was the matter, and soon came back and said to him, “ Neither were you mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will they permit us to do harm to people any longer. We are caught by their stratagem, like brute beasts, for there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves with, because we are restrained from doing so by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day.”] But Asinæus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this emergency, and break their law by avenging themselves, even if they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies by submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly, he took up his weapons, and infused courage in those that were with him to act as bravely as himself. So they engaged with their enemies, and slew a great many of them, (because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory,) and put the rest to flight.

§ 3. Now when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brothers, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his body-guards to say to them, “ King Artabanus, although he has been wronged by you, as you have invaded his kingdom, yet has more regard to your courageous behaviour than to the anger he bears to you, and has sent me to offer you his right hand and friendship, and he permits you to come to him safely and without any injury on the road, and he wants you to address yourselves to him as friends, and means no guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and so to honour you as by his power to augment your present fame.” But Asinæus himself put off his journey there, but sent his brother Anilæus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king’s presence ; and when Artabanus saw Anilæus coming alone, he inquired why Asinæus had not come with him. And when he learnt

that he was afraid, and stayed in the marshes, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and offered Anilæus his right hand, which is the greatest pledge of security with all those barbarians to those who converse with them ; for none of them will deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of an intention to harm you. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anilæus to try to persuade his brother to come to him. Now the king acted in this way, because he wanted by the courage of these Jewish brothers to curb his own satrapies, lest they should violate their friendship with him, for they were ripe for revolt, and disposed to rebel, and he was about to make an expedition against them. He was also afraid that, while he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those satrapies that revolted, the party of Asinæus and the Babylonians would be augmented, and either make war upon him when they should hear of their revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that, would not fail of doing him very much harm.

§ 4. With these intentions the king sent away Anilæus, and Anilæus prevailed on his brother [to go to the king,] when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken ; accordingly, they made haste to go to Artabanus. And he received them, when they were come, with pleasure, and marvelled at Asinæus' courage in the actions he had done, and that because he was a little man to look at, and at first sight appeared contemptible also to such as met him, so that they might deem him of no value at all, and he said to his friends that, upon both being compared together, Asinaeus showed his soul to be superior to his body. And, as they were once drinking together, he showed Asinæus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he had exhibited in war. And when Abdagases desired leave to kill him, and so to inflict punishment on him for the injuries he had done to the Parthian kingdom, the king replied, "I will never give leave to kill a man who has trusted in my good faith, especially after I have sent

him the offer of my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his confidence by oaths by the gods. But if you are a good warrior, you stand not in need of my perjury to avenge the outraged Parthian kingdom. Attack this man, when he is gone home, and conquer him by the forces that are under your command, without my privity." And the king sent for Asinæus early in the morning, and said to him, "It is time for you, young man! to return home, and not to provoke the indignation of my generals here any more, lest they attempt to murder you, and that without my approbation. I commit to you the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by your care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischief. I have kept my faith inviolable to you, and that not in trifling matters, but in such as concerned your safety, and I therefore deserve your kindness in return." When he had said this, and given Asinæus some presents, he sent him away immediately. And he, when he was come home, built fortresses, and made those that were previously built stronger, and became great in a little time, and managed affairs with such courage and success, as no other person, that had had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; for the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed too small, and beneath his deserts, although he was in no small dignity and power there: nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended on him, and he flourished more and more in this happy condition for fifteen years.

§ 5. But as the two brothers were in so flourishing a condition, the beginning of calamity came upon them for the following reason, after they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, and affronted and transgressed the laws of their fore-fathers, and fallen under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, was accompanied by his wife, who had a great reputation for other accomplishments, and was particularly admired above all other women for her great beauty; and Anilæus, the brother of Asinæus, either heard of her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself

also, and so at once became her lover and her enemy ; partly because he could not hope to enjoy her but by obtaining power over her as his captive, partly because he thought he could not conquer his passion for her. As soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy of theirs, and had fallen in a battle forced on him, the widow of the deceased was captured and married to her lover. However, she did not come into their house without causing great misfortune not only to Anilæus himself, but also to Asinæus, for she brought great mischief upon them both from the following cause. When she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were her and her husband's national gods, for it is the custom in that country for all to keep the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land, according to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. And at first she performed her worship of them privately, but when she became Anilæus' wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same ceremonies which she used in her former husband's life. Thereupon their most esteemed friends first blamed him for not acting after the manner of the Hebrews, and for doing what was not agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that neglected the observance of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies ; and bade him look to it, lest by conceding too much to the pleasures of the body, he might lose his position and the power which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But, as they prevailed not with him at all, he slew one of them, who was most highly esteemed, because of the liberty he took with him ; and he, as he was dying from regard to the laws, imprecated curses upon his murderer Anilæus, and upon Asinæus also, and prayed that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; the two first as the principal actors in this lawlessness, and the rest because they would not assist him when he suffered in defending their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than the bravery of the two

brothers. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians honour, they thought the outrage that Anilæus offered to their laws could be borne no longer ; so a great number of them came to Asinæus, and loudly complained of Anilæus, and told him, if he had not previously noticed what was advantageous to them, that now it was high time anyhow to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and all the rest of them. They added that the marriage of this woman took place without their consent, and without regard to their laws ; and that the worship which she paid to her gods was an outrage to the God whom they worshipped. Now, Asinæus knew that his brother's offence had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would continue to be so, but he tolerated it because of the good-will he had to so near a relative, and made allowance for him, considering that his brother was quite overcome by his wicked passion which mastered him. But as more and more came to him every day, and the clamours became greater, he at last spoke to Anilæus about the matter, reproofing him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs. And as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anilæus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she put poison into Asinæus' food, and so took him off, and was now free from fear, as her lover was now sole judge of what should be done about her.

§ 6. When Anilæus had thus got all the power himself alone, he led out his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a leading man in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus' daughter, and plundered them. So he got much money, and many slaves, and much cattle, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now, when Mithridates, who was in that region at the time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very enraged that Anilæus had begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, though he had not offered any injury to him previously ; so he got together

the largest body of cavalry he was able, and picked out of that number those who were in their prime, and went to fight Anilæus. And when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he rested there, intending to fight Anilæus on the day following, because it was the sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anilæus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger from another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would feast, he took his supper betimes, and marched by night, intending to fall upon the Parthians while they were ignorant of what he was going to do; and fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and slew some of them while they were asleep, and put others to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass, which is esteemed the greatest reproach possible among the Parthians. And when he had brought Mithridates into a wood in such guise,<sup>1</sup> and his friends desired him to kill him, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary; for he said it was not well to kill a man who was one of the principal families among the Parthians, and still more honoured by contracting a royal marriage; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had insulted Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that had conferred it on him; but if he were once put to death, the king would not rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon, whose safety they ought to regard, both on account of their relationship to them, and because, if any misfortune befell them, they had no other place to retire to, since the king had got the flower of their youth. By this suggestion and speech of his made in council he persuaded them, so Mithridates was let go. But when he returned home, his wife reproached him, that, although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those who had insulted him, and took no heed of it, but was contented to have been made captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them. And she bade him either go back like a man of courage, or

<sup>1</sup> I read πορίσματος. What can ὄπισματος mean here?

else she swore by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him. Upon this, partly because he could not endure the annoyance of her daily taunts, partly because he was afraid of her high spirit, lest she should in earnest dissolve her marriage with him, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as large an army as he could, and marched along with them, himself now thinking it insufferable that he, a Parthian, should be defeated by a Jew who warred against him.

§ 7. Now as soon as Anilæus heard that Mithridates was marching with a large force against him, he thought it ignoble to remain in the marshes, and not to be first in meeting his enemies, and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat the enemy as he had done before; so he ventured boldly upon the like attempt. Accordingly, he led out his army, and a great many more men joined themselves to his army, to betake themselves to plunder other persons' property, and to terrify the enemy again first by their appearance. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, as their road lay through waterless places, they became very thirsty about the middle of the day, and Mithridates suddenly appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anilæus and his men were put to an ignominious rout, as they were faint and yet had to attack men that were fresh and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousands killed. Now Anilæus and all that remained round him fled as fast as they were able into a wood, and gave Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. And now there flocked unto Anilæus a countless number of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease, so that, by their thus coming to him, they compensated for the number of those that had perished in the fight. But they were not equal in quality to those that had fallen, because they had had no practice in war; however, with them Anilæus attacked the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty destruction of all things there was made by his violence. So

the Babylonians, and those that joined in the war, sent to Naarda to the Jews there, and demanded them to deliver up Anilæus. And although they did not obey their demand (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power to do so), yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the others replied, that they also wanted conditions of peace, and sent envoys with the Babylonians, to treat with Anilæus about peace. But the Babylonians, having made a reconnaissance, and found out where Anilæus and his men were encamped, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk and had fallen asleep, and slew with impunity all of them they fell in with, and killed Anilæus himself also.

§ 8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anilæus' raids (which had been a great hindrance to their carrying out their hatred to the Jews, for they were almost always at variance because of the difference of their laws, and whichever party grew boldest attacked the other first), and so now, upon the slaughter of Anilæus' party, they attacked the Jews. And they, dreading the injuries they received from the Babylonians, and being unable to fight them, and thinking it intolerable to live with them, migrated to Seleucia,<sup>1</sup> the principal city in those parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator; and was inhabited by many Macedonians, but principally by Greeks, and not a few Syrians also dwelt there. And there did the Jews take refuge, and lived there five years without any misfortunes. But in the sixth year a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, and because of it a stampede took place to Seleucia. And a still heavier calamity came upon them for the reason which I am going to relate.

§ 9. The life of the Greeks and Syrians in Seleucia was mostly quarrelsome, and full of strife, though the Greeks had the best of it. But when the Jews came there and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too much for the Greeks, owing to the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and are very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now, as the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xiii. 7, § 1.

way of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the unity of the Jews and Syrians, they each talked with such of the Syrians as were formerly acquainted with them, and offered to be at peace and friendship with them. And they gladly agreed to this, and a conference was held by both parties; and as the principal men of both nations agreed to a reconciliation, it was soon brought about. And when they were so agreed, they both felt that the chief token of such a union would be common hostility to the Jews; so they fell upon them suddenly, and slew about fifty thousand of them. Indeed the Jews were all destroyed, except a few who escaped from the compassion of their friends or neighbours, and migrated to Ctesiphon,<sup>1</sup> a Greek city near Seleucia, where the king winters every year, and where the greatest part of his treasures are deposited. But the Jews had no certain settlement here, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. For the whole nation of the Jews were afraid both of the Babylonians and Seleucians, because all the Syrians that lived in those places agreed with the Seleucians to war against the Jews: so most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Naarda and Nisibis,<sup>2</sup> and obtained security there from the strength of those cities; and also their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. Such was the state of the Jews in Babylonia.

<sup>1</sup> On the left bank of the Tigris. See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Antiq. xviii. 9, § 1.

## BOOK XIX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF.  
—FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON,  
TO FADUS, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

## CHAP. I.

*How Caius was slain by Chærea Cassius.*

## § 1.

NOW Caius showed his outrageous madness not only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in Judæa, but also exhibited it in every land and sea that was subject to the Romans, and filled the empire with ten thousand woes, such as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dire effects of his acts, as he held it in not a whit more honour than all other cities, but savagely oppressed all its citizens, and especially the senate and patricians, and such as were honoured for their illustrious ancestors. He also found out ten thousand devices against those of the equestrian order, as it was called, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth to the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; he treated these in an ignominious manner, and degraded them from their position, and they were not only slain, but their wealth plundered, for he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours being paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind, for he frequented the temple of Jupiter which they call the Capitol, which is among the Romans the most honoured of all their temples, and had the audacity to call Jupiter his brother. And other things he did like a madman, as when he laid a bridge from the city of

Dicæarchia<sup>1</sup> in Campania to Misenum,<sup>2</sup> another city upon the seaside, a distance of thirty furlongs by sea from one promontory to the other. And this he did because he disliked crossing over in a trireme, and thought also that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might demand from it as much as from the land, so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to make such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Greek temples, but gave orders that all the paintings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and votive offerings should be brought to him, saying that beautiful things ought to be set nowhere but in the best place, and that was the city of Rome. He also adorned his own house and gardens with what was brought from those temples, as also his houses which he occasionally stayed at when he travelled in Italy ; and he did not scruple to command that the statue of Olympian Zeus, the work of Phidias the Athenian, which was honoured by the Greeks, should be transferred to Rome. But he did not compass his end in this, for the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Zeus, that it would be broken if it were removed. It is also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some mighty prodigies such as are of an incredible nature, deferred the removing it, and wrote these circumstances to Caius, as his apology for not having done what his letter required of him ; and when he was in consequence in danger of his life, he was saved by Caius dying himself, before he had him put to death.

§ 2. Nay, Caius' madness rose to such a height, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, and said that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and affirmed that she had two fathers, but which of these fathers was the greatest he left undetermined. And yet men put up with such actions ! He also gave leave to slaves to

<sup>1</sup> Puteoli. Pozzuoli.

<sup>2</sup> Now Casaluce, on the south side of the *Porto di Miseno*, at the northern limit of the Bay of Naples.

accuse their masters of any crimes whatever they pleased; for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him and at his suggestion, insomuch that Pollux, Claudio's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudio himself, and Caius was not ashamed to be present, and to hear the trial for his life of his own uncle, in hope of being able to take him off, although the result did not turn out to his mind. But when he had filled the whole world which he governed with false accusations and miseries, and had made slaves in a great measure their masters' masters, many plots were laid against him, for some conspired against his life in rage and to revenge themselves for the miseries they had already undergone from him, and others to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries. And so his death happened very opportunely for the preservation of the laws of all nations, and had a great influence upon the public welfare, and happened most happily for our nation in particular, which would almost have utterly perished if he had not been soon slain. I intend to give a complete account of his murder, especially as it affords great proof of the power of God, and great comfort to those who are in afflictions, and soberness to those who think their happiness will never end, instead of bringing them at last to the most enduring miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

§ 3. Now there were three conspiracies made to murder Caius, and each of these three was headed by excellent persons. Æmilius Regulus, a native of Corduba<sup>1</sup> in Iberia, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off either by them, or by himself. Another conspiracy was laid under the lead of Chærea Cassius, a tribune [of the Prætorian guard]. Minucianus Annus was also one of great consequence among those that were prepared to put an end to Caius' tyranny. Now the reasons of these men's hatred and conspiracy against Caius were as follows. Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice (for he was by nature hot-tempered and frank, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them

<sup>1</sup> *Cordova in Spain.*

to many of his friends, and to others who seemed to him men of action); and Minucianus entered into conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, and also because he was afraid of him himself, as Caius' wrath revelled in the slaughter of all alike: and as for Chærea, he thought it no illiberal deed to kill Caius, being ashamed of Caius constantly twitting him with being effeminate,<sup>1</sup> as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with Caius, and the observance he paid him. These men opened their plot to all who saw the injuries that were done them, and who were desirous that by Caius' death they might escape all this: for perhaps they would succeed, and it would be a happy thing if they should to have so many excellent fellow-conspirators, who earnestly wished to share in their design for the delivery of the city and empire, even at the hazard of their own lives. But Chærea was the most zealous of them all, not only from a desire of getting himself the greatest name, but also because of his access to Caius' presence with less danger, because he was a tribune [of the Prætorian guard], and so could the more easily kill him.

§ 4. Now at this time came on the horse-races, the view of which games is eagerly desired by the people of Rome, for they come with great alacrity into the Circus at such times, and crowd round in great multitudes, and petition their emperors for what they stand in need of; and they usually do not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and graciously grant them. Accordingly now they most importunately desired that Caius would ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them. But he would not listen to their petition, and, as their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave orders that they should arrest those that made the clamours, and without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius' commands, and those who were commanded carried them out, and the number of those slain on this

<sup>1</sup> See Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56.

occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it, and soon left off clamouring, because they saw with their own eyes that this petition to be somewhat relieved of the payment of their taxes brought immediate death upon them. These things made Chærea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this savageness of Caius against men. Frequently he thought to fall upon Caius as he was feasting, but he restrained himself by some considerations, not that he had any doubt about killing him, but because he watched for a proper season, that the attempt might not be in vain, but might be carried out effectually.

§ 5. Chærea had been in the army a long time, but was not pleased with much intercourse with Caius. And when Caius appointed him to exact the tribute and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to the emperor's treasury, he made some delay in exacting them, because those burdens had been doubled, and rather indulged his own mild disposition than carried out Caius' commands, and indeed provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the money. And indeed he not only affronted him in other respects, but whenever he gave him the word for the day in his turn, he gave him feminine words,<sup>1</sup> and those of a very reproachful nature. And this he did, having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries which he had himself invented: for as he sometimes put on women's clothes, and devised false curls, and did a great many other things, in order to get taken for a woman, so he ventured to taunt Chærea with the like womanish behaviour. And whenever Chærea received the word for the day from him, he was indignant at it, but still more whenever he had to pass it on to others, being laughed at by those that received it, insomuch that his fellow-tribunes made him their sport. For they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual amusing words whenever he was to bring the word for the day from the emperor. For these

<sup>1</sup> See Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56.

reasons he took the bold step of joining to him certain associates, having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompelius, a senator, who had gone through almost all offices, but was in other respects an Epicurean, and one who for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, an enemy of his, informed Caius that Pompelius had used unseemly reproaches against him, and called Quintilia as a witness, a woman who was much run after by many that frequented the theatre, and also by Pompelius, because of her great beauty. Now as this woman thought it monstrous to bear witness to a lying accusation that touched the life of her lover, Timidius desired to have her put to the torture. And Caius in his exasperation commanded Chærea without any delay to torture Quintilia, as he used to employ Chærea in such bloody matters, and whenever the rack was required, because he thought he would do it the more severely to avoid the imputation of effeminacy. But Quintilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of any consequences from her tortures; for she would bear them bravely. And Chærea tortured her in a cruel manner, unwillingly indeed, and only because he was compelled to act so for his own safety, and then brought her, without her being the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, and that in such a condition as was sad to behold. And Caius, being somewhat affected by the sight of Quintilia, who had her body miserably racked with pain, acquitted both her and Pompelius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her honourable amends, and comfort her for the injury to her body which she had suffered, and for her glorious patience under such dreadful torments.

§ 6. This matter sorely grieved Chærea, as having been the cause, as far as he could be, of such miseries to human beings as seemed worthy of consolation to Caius himself; and he said to Clemens and to Papinius (of whom Clemens was commander of the Prætorian body-guard, and Papinius tribune,) "Certainly, Clemens, we have no way failed in guarding the emperor; for as to those that have con-

spired against his government, some have been slain by our forethought and pains, and some have been tortured by us, and that to such a degree, that he has himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in submitting to lead his armies!" Clemens was silent, but showed the shame he felt in obeying Caius' orders both by his looks and blushing countenance, though he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express words, lest his own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon this Chærea took courage, and spoke to him without fear of danger, and descended on the sore calamities under which the city and empire then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words that Caius is the person to whom such miseries ought to be imputed; but in the opinion of such as try to investigate the truth, it is I, O Clemens, and Papinius here, and before us both you yourself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans and upon all mankind, not by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but by following our own wish, for whereas it is in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who has so terribly outraged the citizens and his subjects, we are his body-guards and executioners rather than soldiers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We carry weapons not for our liberty, nor for the Roman empire, but only for his preservation, who has enslaved both the bodies and minds of his subjects, and we are every day polluted with the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon them, until somebody shall become Caius' instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us out of good-will to us, but rather because he is suspicious of us, as also because when many more have been killed (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he acts thus not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,) we shall also ourselves be a mark for his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of everybody, and at the same time we ought to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

§ 7. Then Clemens openly commended Chærea's intention, but bade him be silent, for in case his words should get out among many, and such things should spread abroad

as were well to be concealed, the plot would be discovered before it was executed, and they would be brought to punishment: so he recommended that they should leave all to the future and the hope which arose thence that some fortunate event would aid them; as for himself, his age would not permit him to take any active part in the attempt. "Although perhaps," he added, "I could suggest what might be safer than what you, Chærea, have contrived and urged, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for your reputation?" And Clemens went his way home, reflecting on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Chærea was also in anxiety, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus (who was himself also a tribune, and one whom he also knew to be a worthy man and lover of liberty, and so very much opposed to the present management of public affairs), being desirous to carry out quickly what had been determined, and thinking it well for him to propose it to him, not only being afraid lest Clemens should inform against them, but also looking upon procrastination and delay as next door to abandoning the enterprise.

§ 8. Now all this was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself the same design as Chærea, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could safely communicate his views, so now having met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who also opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Chærea that no delay might be made. So they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions, as themselves, and was suspected by Caius on account of his murder of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus had been intimate friends, and both in fear of their common dangers. For Caius was terrible to all great men, not ceasing to rage against each of them in particular, and all of them in general; and men were afraid of one another, while yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, and hesitated to let one another see their mind and hatred against Caius, from fear of danger, although they perceived in other ways their mutual hatred of Caius, and so did not cease to feel mutual good-will.

§ 9. When Minucianus and Chærea met together, and

saluted one another, as they had been used in former intercourse to give the first place to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent merit (for he was the noblest of all the citizens) and because he was highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches, Minucianus began first, and asked Chærea, what was the word he had received for that day from Caius. For the insults which were offered Chærea in giving the words for the day were notorious all over the city. And Chærea made no delay to reply to that question, from the joy he had that Minucianus had such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "And do you," said he, "give me Liberty as the word! And I return you my thanks for having so greatly encouraged me to exert myself in an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to embolden me, if you and I are of the same mind, and sharers in the same resolution, even before this conversation. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but it will be enough for us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do you go first, if so minded, and bid me follow you, or else I will go first, and you shall assist me, and I will rely on your co-operation. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to action, for by the mind the sword is wont to be sharpened. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous as to what I may myself undergo; for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery of our once free country, and at the abeyance of our excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men's heads owing to Caius. I hope that I may in your judgment be esteemed worthy of credit in these matters, seeing that we are both of the same opinion, and that there is no difference between us."

§ 10. When Minucianus saw the vehemence with which Chærea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commanding and embracing him, and so let him go with his good wishes and prayers. And some affirm that Minucianus confirmed him in the execution of what had been agreed among them. For, as Chærea entered the senate-house, they say that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage

him, which bade him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that providence afforded : and that Chærea at first suspected that one of the conspirators had turned traitor, and that he was detected, but at last perceived that it was by way of exhortation, whether someone who knew what he was about gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, encouraged him to go on boldly in his design. The plot had now been communicated to a great many, and the conspirators were all armed, some of them being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and all the rest soldiers who were privy to the plot. For there was not one of them who did not reckon it happiness to remove Caius, and so they were all very zealous in the affair, however they might compass it, and resolved not to be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but to be ready with all their alacrity and power, both in words and actions, to slay the tyrant. Another conspirator was Callistus (who was a freedman of Caius), and was the only man who had arrived at a very great degree of power under him, such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, from the dread that all men had of him, and from the great riches he had acquired ; for he took bribes most freely, and insolently treated everybody, using his power contrary to equity ; he also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had once resolved on ; he had also many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and not least the vastness of his wealth. So he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his court to him, hoping if, after the removal of Caius, the empire should come to him, his interest in such changes would lay a foundation for his preserving his position under Claudius, as he would have laid in beforehand a stock of gratitude and good-will. He had also the audacity to pretend that he had been ordered to kill Claudius by poison, but had contrived ten thousand ways of delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me that Callistus only pretended this to ingratiate himself with Claudius, for if Caius had resolved in earnest to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of excuses from Callistus, nor would Callistus have

put it off, if he had been enjoined to do such an act because it was desired by Caius, or, if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, he would have had immediate punishment: so that Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence, and Callistus pretended to have done him such a kindness as he never had done.

§ 11. However, the execution of Chærea's design was put off from day to day, from the hesitation of many of the conspirators: for as to Chærea himself, he did not willingly make any delay in carrying it out, thinking every time a fit time for it. For frequent opportunities offered themselves, as when Caius went up to the Capitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood on the roof of his royal palace, and threw pieces of gold and silver among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the roof of the palace overlooking the forum was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries which he had himself instituted, *he might easily be attacked*, for he was then no way secluded from the people, but solicitous to do every thing formally and duly, and was free from all suspicion that he would then be attacked by any body. And although the gods should afford Chærea no indication that he would be able to take away Caius' life, yet had he strength sufficient to despatch him even without a sword. So Chærea was angry with his fellow-conspirators, fearing they would suffer opportunities to slip by; and they were sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; however, they desired that he would have a little longer patience, lest, if their attempt failed, they should agitate the city, and when search should be made for the conspirators, should make the courage of those that were to attack Caius ineffectual, as he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them. They thought therefore that it would be best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honour of that Cæsar<sup>1</sup> who first changed the common-

<sup>1</sup> Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cæsar, who first changed the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy; for these shows were in honour of Augustus, as we shall learn in the next section but one.—W.

wealth into a monarchy ; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were patricians sat as spectators, with their children and wives, and the emperor himself also ; and the conspirators reckoned, as many ten thousands would be crowded there in a narrow space, that they would have a favourable opportunity to make their attack upon Caius as he came in ; because his body-guards, even if any of them had a mind to do so, would not be able to give him any assistance.

§ 12. Chærea consented to this delay, and it was resolved to do the deed the first day that the shows were exhibited. But fortune, which allowed a further delay, was too much for their preconcerted plan, and, as three days of the regular time usual for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. So Chærea called the conspirators together, and spoke to them as follows. “ So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, for delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in ; but this delay will prove more fatal, if we be discovered and the design be frustrated ; for Caius will then become much more savage. Do we not see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them, whereas we ought to have procured them security for the future, and by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, have gained for ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come ? ” Now, as the conspirators had nothing particular to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but were silent and seemed dazed, he said further, “ O my brave comrades ! why do we delay ? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea ? ” (for he had made preparations to sail to Alexandria in order to visit Egypt.) “ Is it then for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go about in a magnificent procession of Romans both by land and sea ? Shall we not be justly ashamed of ourselves, if some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to freemen, shall kill him ? As for myself, I will no longer bear your procrastination, but will expose

myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatever shall be the consequences of the attempt, let them be ever so great, for I will not put off the affair any longer. For what can be more miserable to a man of spirit than the thought that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action."

§ 13. When Chærea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without further delay. And he was at the palace early in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on, for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the word for the day from the emperor with their swords on, and this was the day on which Chærea's turn was to receive the word. And the multitude had already come to the palace, in great crowds and jostling one another, to get a good place early for seeing the shows; and Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude, so no peculiar seats were appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order, but all sat promiscuously, men and women together, and free men mixed up with slaves. So a way was made for Caius, and he offered sacrifice to Cæsar Augustus, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, as one of the victims was slain, that the toga of Asprenas, a senator, was sprinkled with blood, which made Caius laugh, and was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also stated that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual nature, so very affable and courteous in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, and his chief friends sat round him. Now the theatre was constructed as follows, as it was put together every year. It had two doors, one leading to the open air, the other for going in or out of the portico, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there was an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians, to go out as occasion served. When the multitude had sat down,

and Chærea and the other tribunes were not far from Caius (now the right corner of the theatre was allotted to the emperor), one Vatinius, a senator, and commander of the prætorian band, asked of Cluvius, who sat near him, and was of consular dignity, whether he had heard any news or not, but took care that nobody should hear what he said. And when Cluvius replied, that he had heard no news, "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the play of tyrannicide is to be played to-day." And Cluvius said, "Brave comrade! hold thy peace, lest some other of the Achæans hear thy tale."<sup>1</sup> And as there was much fruit scrambled among the spectators, as also a great number of birds of great value to such as got them on account of their rarity, Caius was amused with the fights and scuffles of the spectators for them. Here also I understand<sup>2</sup> there were two omens. For a Mime was introduced, in which a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomimic dancer brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was slain and his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of sham blood seemed to flow, both round him that was crucified, and also round Cinyras. It is also admitted, that this was the same day whereon Pausanias, a friend of Philip (the son of Amyntas), king of Macedonia, slew him as he was entering the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he would stay to the end of the shows, as it was the last day, or whether he would not go first to bathe and dine, and then return as on previous days, when Minucianus, who sat above Caius, afraid that the opportunity would fail them, got up, because he saw that Chærea had already gone out, and was hastening out to confirm him in his resolution, when Caius took hold of his garment in a free and easy way, and said to him, "My good fellow, where are you going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to the emperor apparently, he sat down again, but his fear prevailed, and in a little time he got up again, and this time Caius did not at all oppose his going out, thinking he went out to do some necessary act of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the conspirators also, persuaded Caius to go out to bathe and dine, as he had done

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to Homer, Iliad, xiv. 90.

<sup>2</sup> I read *μανθάνω*.

on previous days, and then to come in again, being desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

§ 14. And Chærea and his associates posted themselves as conveniently as they could, but it was not without great effort that they could keep the place which was appointed them. And they were put out by having to wait so long to carry out their purpose, for it was already about the ninth<sup>1</sup> hour of the day, and Chærea, upon Caius' tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in to him and attack him on his seat. He foresaw however that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those of the equestrian order that were present; but although he knew this must result, yet had he a great mind to do so, thinking it right to procure security and freedom to all, even at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back to the entrance to the theatre, the great applause told them that Caius had risen up. Then the conspirators turned and thrust back the crowd, on the pretext that they annoyed Caius, but in reality being desirous to murder him securely through depriving him of any to defend him. Now Claudius, his uncle, and Marcus Vinicius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius Asiaticus, preceded him, and though the conspirators would have liked to thrust them out of the way too, respect to their dignity hindered them from doing so, and Caius came last with Paulus Arruntius. And when Caius got within the palace, he left the direct road, along which his servants stood that were in waiting, and which Claudius and those with him had taken, and turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the baths, as also to look at some boys that had come from Asia, who had been sent from thence partly to sing hymns in the mysteries which were now being celebrated, partly to dance the Pyrrhic dance at the theatres. And Chærea met him, and asked him for the word; and upon Caius' giving him one of his mocking words, Chærea immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible but not

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius says Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day; Josephus, about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.—W.

mortal stroke with it. And although some say that it was so contrived on purpose by Chærea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a number of wounds, yet this story appears to me incredible, because the fear men are in in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Chærea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, for so indulging his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and his fellow-conspirators from the danger they were in; for many things might still happen for Caius' help, if he had not already given up the ghost. For certainly Chærea would not regard so much the punishment of Caius as himself and his friends, when it was in his power after such success to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius' defenders; far less, when it was uncertain whether he had gained the end he aimed at or not, would he in a stupid way have been likely to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity. But every one may conjecture as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius staggered from the pain that the blow gave him (for the sword wounded him between the shoulder and the neck, but was prevented by the collarbone from proceeding any further,) but did not either cry out in his astonishment, or call out for any of his friends; whether he had no confidence in them, or because he was lightheaded, but he groaned from the excessive pain, and moved forward to flee. Then Cornelius Sabinus, who had already made up his mind, received him and thrust him down upon his knee, and many others stood round about him with one consent, and hacked at him with their swords, and encouraged one another to repeat their blows. And all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which instantly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this murder to Chærea, for although many had a hand in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it, and was the first that spoke boldly of it to the rest; and upon their approving of the project, he got the dispersed conspirators together, and prepared every thing in a clever manner, and by suggesting good advice showed himself far superior to the rest, and conciliated them by clever speeches, inso-

much that he compelled even the timid to go on with the enterprise, and when the time came for action, he appeared ready first and gave the first blow, and also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself, insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all that the rest did to the advice and bravery of Chærea, and to the labours of his hands.

§ 15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead from the many wounds which had been given him. And Chærea and the other conspirators, now Caius was dead, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves if they should all go the same way. For not only were they unnerved by what they had done (for they had incurred no small danger by killing an emperor who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, and the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers), but the road was narrow where the deed was done, and also crowded with a great number of Caius' attendants, and with such of the soldiers as were the emperor's guard that day. So they went by different ways, and reached the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius whom they had just killed (which house joined on to the palace; for though the palace was one edifice, it had been built in its several parts by previous emperors, and those parts bore the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of them), and so they got away from the attack of the multitude, and were for the present out of danger, as long as what had happened to the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first that perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were his body-guards, and had their name from the country where they had been enlisted, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is not unfrequently the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as they do not much reason about what they do, but are strong in their bodies, and rush upon their enemies at the first onset, and wherever they go perform great exploits. When, therefore, they knew that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not judge public affairs on their merits, but measured them by the advantages they themselves received, (Caius being beloved by them because

of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their good-will,) so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was their tribune, not because of the virtue and nobility of his ancestors, for he had only been a gladiator, but he had obtained that position over these men by his strength of body. Now these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Caius' murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell in with, whose garment the blood of the sacrifice had stained, as I have stated already, which was ominous that his meeting with the soldiers would not be for his good. The next that met them was Norbanus, who was one of the noblest of the citizens, and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors, but they paid no regard to his rank, but he was of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and showed plainly that he would not die without a fight for his life, but he was surrounded at last by a great number of assailants, and died in consequence of the many wounds which he received. The third they met was Anteius, a senator, and a few others were with him. He did not meet these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and to feast his eyes with seeing Caius lie dead, and took a pleasure in the sight, because Caius had banished Anteius' father, who was of the same name as himself, and, not being satisfied with that, had despatched soldiers to slay him. So he had come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead; but as the house was now all in confusion, though he tried to hide himself, he could not escape the careful search which the Germans made, for they barbarously slew alike those that were guilty and those that were innocent. And thus were these persons slain.

§ 16. But when the news that Caius was slain reached the theatre, there was both panic and incredulity. For some that heard of his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than of almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, could not believe it for fear. There were also others who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should happen to Caius, nor could they believe it,

though ever so true, because they thought no one able to kill Caius. These were the women, and youths, and slaves, and some of the soldiers. These last had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had ill-treated the best of the citizens, in obedience to his outrageous commands, and to gain honours and advantages to themselves ; and the women and youths had been captivated, as crowds are, with shows, and the fightings of gladiators, and distributions of meat, all which things were done nominally to please the multitude, but in reality to glut the savage madness of Caius. The slaves also were loth to believe the news, because they were allowed by Caius to accuse and despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance when they had acted insolently to them ; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely ; and, if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both liberty and riches as the reward of their accusations, because the eighth part of their masters' substance was assigned to these informers.<sup>1</sup> As to the patricians, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might prove true, they concealed not only the joy they felt at the news, but that they had heard any news at all. These last acted so from the fear they had that, if the report proved false, they would be punished for having so soon let men know their minds. And those that knew Caius was dead, because they were privy to the conspiracy, concealed it still more, not knowing one another's minds, and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous, and if Caius should prove after all to be alive, they might be informed against and punished, for another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, he was not dead, but still alive, and under the surgeon's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as one to be trusted, and to whom one might boldly open one's mind ; for he was either a

<sup>1</sup> The reward proposed by the Roman laws to informers was sometimes an eighth part of the criminal's goods, as here, and sometimes a fourth part, as Spanheim assures us from Suetonius and Tacitus.—W.

friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, and therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit for what he said, because of his ill-will to him. It was also reported by some, (who deprived the patricians of all their hopes, and made them sad indeed), that Caius despised the danger he had been in, and took no care to heal his wounds, but had got away to the forum, bloody as he was, and was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which were received different ways according to the opinions of the hearers. However, they did not leave their seats, for fear of being accused if they should go out before the rest ; for they would not be judged by the real intention with which they went out, but by the conjectures of the accusers and judges.

§ 17. But when the multitude of Germans surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn, all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and upon every one's coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they would be cut in pieces immediately ; and they were in great anxiety, not having courage enough to go out of the theatre, and yet not believing themselves safe from danger if they stayed there. And when the Germans rushed in, the theatre rang again with the cries and entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, for they pleaded that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to an insurrection, and if any insurrection had been raised, they knew nothing of what had happened. They therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes of other persons, while they neglected to search after those who had really done whatever had been done. Then did they appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears and beating of their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. This broke the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they had intended to do to the spectators, for that would have been barbarous, and so it appeared even to these savages, who fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar. At

this dreadful sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both from the consideration of the rank of the persons, and commiseration at their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great terror at the prospect of the danger they themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should to the end escape the like calamity. And thus it came about that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, were yet robbed of pleasure at his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing with him, nor had they as yet any firm assurance of surviving.

§ 18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a powerful voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city both now and afterwards. This man made himself look as mournful as he could, (although he had greater hatred against Caius than any one else, but his fear and astuteness to secure his own safety taught him to conceal his present pleasure) and put on such mourning as he would have done had he lost his dearest friend in the world, and went to the theatre, and announced the death of Caius, and so put an end to the state of ignorance as to what had happened that people were in. Paulus Arruntius also went round, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this most certainly saved the lives of those that were assembled together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for, while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness had they still for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and purchased his escape from such an end at the expense of their own lives. But they left off their eagerness to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, as he that would reward them had perished. They were also afraid, if they went on doing such injuries, that they would be punished by the senate, if the authority devolved on them, or by the next emperor. And thus at last a stop was put, though not without difficulty, to the

rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius' death.

§ 19. Now Chærea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should fall in with the Germans, now they were in their fury, and be killed by them, that he went and spoke to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. As for Clemens, he let Minucianus go (for he was brought to him) and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the deed was right, and commended the virtue of those that had contrived it, and had had courage enough to execute it; and said that tyrants did indeed please themselves with tyranny and look big for a while, but did not, however, go happily out of the world, because they were hated by the virtuous, and perished miserably like Caius, who had become a conspirator against himself, before those men who attacked him had plotted against him, and by becoming intolerable in his outrages, and by setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, had taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy, so that, though in common parlance the conspirators had slain Caius, yet in reality it was by his own act that he now lay dead.

§ 20. Now by this time the people in the theatre had risen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance, the reason of which was that the spectators were in too great a hurry to get away. There was also one Haleyon, a surgeon, who hurried away, as if to cure those that were wounded, and on that pretext sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing of those wounded persons, but in reality to free them from the imminent danger they were in. Meantime the senate had met, and the people also had assembled in the forum where they held their comitia, and both were employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did this very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for Valerius Asiaticus, a man of consular authority, went to the people, as they were troubled and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who had murdered the emperor, and when he was earnestly asked by them all, who it was that had done it, he replied, "I

wish I had." The consuls also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and ordered the people and soldiers to go home, and gave the people hopes of abatement of their grievances, and promised the soldiers if they kept quiet as they used to do, and went not abroad to do mischief, that they would bestow rewards upon them. For there was reason to fear that the city would suffer harm from their wild behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoiling the citizens or plundering the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance and great contempt of others, as if the administration of public affairs had already devolved upon them.

## CHAP. II.

*How the Senators wished to restore the Republic; but the soldiers were for preserving the Monarchy. The Murder of Caius' Wife and Daughter. The character of Caius.*

### § 1.

WHEN public affairs were in this condition, Claudius was suddenly hurried away out of his house. For the soldiers held a meeting, and when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs, and that if it should be set up it would not be for their advantage: and if one of those already in power should become emperor, it would in all respects be unsatisfactory to them, if they did not assist him in his advancement: it would therefore be well for them, while public affairs were still unsettled, to choose Claudius as emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of greater dignity than any of those senators who were assembled together, both on account of the virtue of his ancestors, and the attention he had paid to learning, and who, if once made emperor, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. This was their

plan, and they executed it immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon by the soldiers. But Cnaeus Sentius Saturninus, although he had heard of the seizing of Claudius, and that he intended to claim the throne, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality with his consent, stood up in the senate, and, without being dismayed, addressed them in a manner suitable to free and noble men, and spoke as follows.

§ 2. "Although it seems incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time since so unexpected an event has happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed it will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is, yet is it sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it; for to those that love virtue one hour is sufficient spent in freedom in our country, which is now independent and governed by such laws as it once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, for I was born after it had passed away, but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thought of our present freedom, and esteem those happy men that were born and bred up in it, and I think these men worthy of no less honour than the gods themselves, who have, though late, given us a taste of it in this age. May secure enjoyment of it continue to all ages: though this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for our old men. It will seem an age to our old men, if they die during its happy duration; it will also instruct our younger men what kind of virtue those men had from whom we are sprung. As for ourselves, nothing will be more to our advantage in the present than to live virtuously, for it is virtue alone that can preserve men their liberty. As to our ancient state I have heard from others, but as to our later state, I have personally seen and known what mischiefs tyrannies have brought upon our polity, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and teaching flattery and fear, because they leave public affairs to be governed not by the wisdom of the laws, but by the caprice of our rulers. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to overthrow our democracy, and, by violating the regular system of our laws, brought disorders

into our polity, and got above right and justice, and was a slave to his own inclinations, there is no evil that has not plagued our state, as all those that have succeeded him have vied with one another to overthrow the ancient laws of our country, and to leave it destitute of all citizens of noble principles, because they thought it for their safety to have only vicious men to deal with, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all these tyrants, who have been many in number, and who have laid upon us an insufferable burden during their reigns, this Caius, who has been slain to-day, has brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by wreaking his ungovernable rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, inflicting upon all alike still greater miseries by exacting unjust punishments, being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their pleasure by doing injuries, or by tampering both with men's estates and wives, but they look upon it as entire gain when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies. So hateful to tyrants is all liberty, nor can even those gain their friendship that patiently endure whatever miseries they bring on them. For as they are conscious of the abundant evils they have brought on several, and how nobly they have borne their hard fortune, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done them, and so only think they can get security, so suspicious are they, by putting them entirely out of the world. Since, then, we are now got clear of so great a plague, and are only accountable to one another (which form of government affords us the best assurance of present concord and future security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in putting the state in good order), you ought every one of you personally to look to the public interests of everybody, nay, even to oppose measures which have been proposed that you dislike, and that without any danger, because there is now no irresponsible despot to do mischief to the state, with absolute power to take off those that freely declare their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to the increase of tyranny of late as sloth and timi-

dity in contradicting the emperor's will; for men had too great love for the sweets of peace, and had learned to live like slaves. And as many of us as either suffered intolerable calamities, or saw the miseries of our neighbours, because we dreaded dying virtuously, had the prospect of death with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Chærea Cassius. For this one man, with the aid of the gods, has by his counsel and actions been the procurer of our liberty, nor ought we to be ungrateful to him, seeing that he under a tyranny conspired and hazarded his life for our liberty, but we ought to decree him honours, and exhibit this as our first spontaneous act. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and one well becoming freemen, to requite benefactors, such as this man has been to us all, though unlike Cassius and Brutus who slew Caius Julius [Cæsar]; for they laid the foundations of sedition and civil war in our city, but this man by his tyrannicide has set our city free from all the mischiefs that came therefrom."

§ 3. This was the gist of Sentius' oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius' finger a ring, which had a stone with the image of Caius engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and earnestness in what he was about, he had forgotten (it was supposed) to take off himself. The intaglio was broken immediately. And, as it was now far in the night, Chærea demanded of the consuls the word, and they gave him Liberty. What had happened seemed wonderful to them and almost incredible. For it was a hundred years since the democracy had been set aside, when this giving the word for the day returned to the consuls; for, before the city was governed by tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. And when Chærea had received the word, he passed it on to those soldiers who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. And these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and courage at having

recovered their former power, and being no longer under an emperor. And Chærea was everybody with them.

§ 4. And now Chærea was very uneasy that Caius' wife and daughter were still alive, and that all his family had not perished with him, since whoever was left of them would be left for the ruin of the city and the laws. So, being anxious to complete his work, and satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Luper, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius' wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Luper, as a kinsman of Clemens, that he might be so far a partaker in the tyrannicide, and might get credit for his virtue among the citizens, and might seem to have been one of the original conspirators. But it appeared to some of the conspirators cruel to use such severity to a woman, because Caius, in all that he did, indulged his own ill-nature more than used her advice, and it was owing to him (*and not her*) that the city was in such a desperate condition of misery, and the flower of the citizens destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things, nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said that she had given a philtre to Caius, which had made him enslaved to her will, and had tied him down to love her, so that she, having made him mad, was herself the author of all the misfortunes that had befallen the Romans and the world that was subject to them. So that at last it was determined that she must die, for those of the contrary opinion could not at all prevail to have her saved, and Luper was sent accordingly. Nor did he make any delay in executing his errand, but he took the first opportunity to obey those that sent him, being desirous to be no way blamable in what was done for the advantage of the people. So he went to the palace, and found Cæsonia, Caius' wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay on the ground, and was destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and herself besmeared all over with the blood of her husband's wounds, and in the greatest affliction, her daughter lying by her side also: and nothing else was heard from her in these circumstances but blaming Caius for not having attended to what she had so often told him beforehand; which words of hers were taken in two

senses even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. For some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour and cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by their using him as he had used them. Others said, as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, that she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and that whether they were guilty or not, and so he would be out of fear of any danger; and that this was what she now blamed him for, for being too tender in the matter when she had advised him to slay them all. And this was what Cæsonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lopus approach, she showed him Caius' dead body, and begged him to come near with lamentation and tears; and when she noticed that Lopus seemed unsettled in his purpose, and approached her as if to do something disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and bared her throat very readily, bewailing her case like people who utterly despair of their life, and bidding him not delay to end the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death at the hand of Lopus, as did her daughter after her. Then Lopus made haste to inform Chærea of what he had done.

§ 5. Such was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years all but four months. Even before he came to be emperor he was ill-natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to pleasure, and a lover of calumny; greatly afraid of what was formidable, and of a very murderous disposition, where he durst show it. He enjoyed his power to this only purpose, to injure those that least deserved it with unreasonable arrogance, and he got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above the gods and the laws, but was a slave to the praises of the populace; and whatever the laws determined to be shameful, and censured, that he esteemed more honourable than virtue. He was unmindful of his friends, however intimate, and though they were persons of

the highest character ; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them for the most trifling matters, and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatever he commanded, he would admit of no contradiction to his desires, so it was that he committed incest with his own sister,<sup>1</sup> on which account chiefly it was that a bitter hatred first sprang up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known for a long time, and so it provoked men to distrust and hate him that was guilty of it. As for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the advantage of his contemporaries or posterity, nobody could name any such, except the haven that he made about Rhegium<sup>2</sup> and Sicily, for the ships that brought corn from Egypt ; which was indeed indisputably a very great work in itself, and of very great advantage for navigation. Yet this work was not brought to perfection by him, but was left only half finished because of his want of application to it ; the reason was that he dissipated his energy on useless matters, and as he spent his money upon pleasures such as tended to no one's benefit but his own, he could not be liberal in things that were undeniably of greater consequence. In other respects he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own mother-tongue, the Latin. He was also able, off-hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others of considerable length. He was also more skilful in persuading others in important cases than any one else in consequence of a natural facility, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking. For as he was the grandson<sup>3</sup> of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong compulsion to his prosecution of learning, because Tiberius

<sup>1</sup> Spanheim here notes from Suetonius, that the name of Caius' sister, with whom he was guilty of incest, was Drusilla ; and that Suetonius adds, he was guilty of the same crime with all his sisters also. He notes further, that Suetonius omits the mention of the haven for ships, which our author esteems the only great public work which Caius left behind him, though in an imperfect condition.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Reggio*, on the east side of the Straits of *Messina*.

<sup>3</sup> This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus ; who was the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.—W.

was eminent for his success in learning, and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and emperor. He was also foremost of the citizens of his own age, but the advantages he received from his learning did not counterbalance the mischief he brought upon himself by his license; so difficult is it for those to get the virtue of self-control who have irresponsible freedom of action. At first he got himself such friends as were in all respects most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, in consequence of his learning and emulating the glory of the best men; until from his excessive injuries to them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him, from which hatred came the plot which they raised against him, in which he perished.

### CHAP. III.

*How Claudius was seized, and brought out of his House, and taken to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassage to him.*

#### § 1.

NOW Claudius, as I said before, had taken a different road to Caius, and, as the royal family were greatly put out by the sad murder of the emperor, he was in great anxiety how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow passage, though he had no reason for suspicion of danger besides the dignity of his birth. For he lived privately and behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and holding himself entirely aloof from every thing that might bring trouble. But as at this time the multitude were in consternation, and the whole palace was full of the fury of the soldiers, and the emperor's body-guards seemed in the same panic and confusion as private persons, the band called prætorian, which was the purest part of the army, held a consultation as to what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were present at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered,

because he justly deserved his fate, but rather considered their own fortunes, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially as the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius, rather to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public. All these things troubled Claudius, who was afraid for his own safety, especially when he saw the heads of Asprenas and his fellow-conspirators carried about. He stood in a certain place ascended by a few steps, where he had retired in the dark. And when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but could not well tell by his countenance who he was, because it was dark, though he could see that it was some one who was hiding, he went nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus;<sup>1</sup> come, let us choose him for our emperor." And when Claudius saw that they were preparing to take him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, reminding them how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with all that had been done. Thereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off these humble thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, in their concern for the world, have committed to your virtue by taking Caius out of the way. Go, therefore, and take the throne of your ancestors." So he lifted him up and carried him, because he was unable to walk, such was his mingled dread and joy at what Gratus said to him.

§ 2. Now there were already gathered round Gratus a great number of the body-guards, and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked sad, supposing that he was being dragged to execution for the mischief that had been lately done, though he was a man who had never meddled with public affairs all his life long, and had been

<sup>1</sup> How Claudius, son of Drusus, and brother of Germanicus, could be here himself called Germanicus, Suetonius informs us, when he tells us that by a decree of the senate, the surname of Germanicus was bestowed upon Drusus and his posterity also. *Sueton. Claud. i.—W.*

in great danger during the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it well that the consuls should take cognizance of the matter. And, as more and more of the soldiers got together, the crowd gave way, and Claudius could hardly go forward from weakness of body, and those who carried his litter, when they heard of his being carried off, ran away and saved themselves, despairing of their lord's safety. But when they were come into the large court of the palace (which, as the report goes about it, was the first part inhabited in the city of Rome), and had just got to the public treasury, many more soldiers flocked to him, being glad to see Claudius' face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a great reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetousness of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of formerly, when they were in power. They also considered the difficulty of the situation, as also what danger they would be in, if the government should devolve upon any individual but Claudius, who would take it as their grant and favour, and would be grateful for the benefit they had done him, and make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

§ 3. These were the discourses the soldiers had with one another and by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came near them. And they, on hearing it, willingly embraced the proposal, and they carried Claudius to the camp, crowding round him as his guard, and bearing him aloft in a litter, that their impatience might not be thwarted. As to the populace and senate they differed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and anxious to get rid of the slavery that had been imposed on them by the insolence of their tyrants, now that they had an opportunity afforded them; but the people, who were envious of them, and knew that the emperors were able to curb their arrogance, and were a protection to themselves, were very glad that Claudius had been carried off by the army, and thought that if he were made emperor, he would prevent such a civil war as there was in the days of Pompey.

But when the senate knew that Claudius had been taken to the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body who had the best character for virtue, to recommend him to do nothing to gain power by violence, but to submit to the senate, as he was either already, or would hereafter be, one of their body, which consisted of so many persons, and to submit to the law in all that related to public order, and to remember how greatly previous tyrants had afflicted their state, and what dangers both he and they had run under Caius, for they said he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury was done by others, and yet be himself willing to play havoc with his country. They added that if he would hearken to them, and show that his determination was to live quietly and virtuously as before, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow, and by subjecting himself in part to the law, would obtain this commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue both as a ruler and subject; but if he would act recklessly, and learn no wisdom by Caius' death, they would not permit it. For a great section of the army (they added) sided with them, and they had plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves to make use of: and hope played a great part in such cases, and fortune and the gods never assisted any but those that exerted themselves with virtue and goodness, who could only be such as fought for the liberty of their country.

§ 4. Such was the speech that the envoys, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both tribunes of the people, made to Claudius, and falling down upon their knees, begged of him, that he would not bring the city into wars and misfortunes. But when they saw what a multitude of soldiers surrounded and guarded Claudius, and that the consuls were totally inadequate to cope with them, they added that, if he desired the empire, he should accept it as given by the senate, for he would be happier in it and take it under better auspices, if he did not seize it by violence, but accepted it from the good-will of those who offered it to him.

## CHAP. IV.

*What King Agrippa did for Claudius, and how Claudius, when he had become Emperor, commanded the Murderers of Caius to be slain.*

## § 1.

NOW Claudius, though he was not blind to the presumption of this message from the senate, yet behaved himself for the present with moderation, as they advised. However, he recovered from his fright, being encouraged partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such an empire slip out of his hands, when it came thus spontaneously to him. King Agrippa acted also to Caius as became one who had been so much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius' body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and laid it out as well as he could, and went to the body-guards, and told them that Caius was still alive, but bade them fetch surgeons, for he was very ill of his wounds. But when he learned that Claudius had been carried off by the soldiers, he pushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in a condition of terror, and ready to yield to the senate, he encouraged him, and bade him stick to the empire. And when he had said this to Claudius, he returned home, and, upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had just come from a festive party, and so went to them, and also asked the senators what Claudius had done. And when they told him the present state of affairs, and further asked his opinion on the whole matter, he at once told them that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to their personal desires. For those who grasped at government, stood in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, lest being unprepared they should fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that they could bring weapons and money in abundance, and that as to an army, part of it was already mustered together, and they could raise a larger

one by giving the slaves their liberty, Agrippa made the following answer. “O senators! may you be able to do what you desire; but I will without any hesitation tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation. Know, then, that the army which will fight on behalf of Claudius has been long trained in war, while our army will be no better than a mob and rabble, as it is composed of such as have been unexpectedly freed from slavery, and are without discipline; we shall therefore bring up against those who are skilful in war men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. My opinion therefore is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to urge him to lay down the government, and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors.”

§ 2. Upon this speech of Agrippa, the senate complied with him, and he was sent with others, and privately informed Claudius of the alarm of the senate, and advised him to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. So Claudius replied that he did not wonder the senate did not wish to have an emperor over them, because they had been harassed by the savageness of those who had formerly been at the head of affairs; but they should enjoy an equitable government and good times under him, for he would only be their ruler in name, but the authority should be common to all. And since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be well for them not to distrust him. The ambassadors, upon receiving this answer, were dismissed. And Claudius harangued the army which was gathered together, and made them swear that they would remain faithful to him, and gave the body-guards five thousand drachmæ apiece,<sup>1</sup> and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wherever they were.

§ 3. And now the consuls convoked the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stator, while it was still night. But

<sup>1</sup> This number of drachmæ to be distributed to each private soldier, 5,000 drachmæ, equal to 20,000 sesterces, or £161 sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. x., who makes them in all but fifteen sesterces, or 2s. 4d.—W.

some of the senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do on the hearing of this summons, and some of them retired to their estates in the country, foreseeing the issue of public affairs, and despairing of liberty, supposing it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than, by trying to gain the glory of their forefathers, to hazard their own safety. So a hundred and no more met together, and as they were deliberating about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was raised by the soldiers that were on their side, bidding the senate to choose an emperor, and not to ruin the state by setting up a multitude of rulers. Thus they fully declared themselves to be for giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them. And now the situation of the senate was much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their vaunted liberty, but were afraid of Claudius also. Yet there were some of them that hankered after the chief power, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages. For Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both from his own nobility, and from his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, and accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him on one pretext or another. And Minucianus, who was one of Caius' murderers, restrained Vалerius Asiaticus from thinking of such things. And indeed there would have been a prodigious slaughter, if those men who desired to be emperors had been permitted to set up themselves in opposition to Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and of rowers who flocked to the camp; so that of those who claimed the empire, some gave up their pretensions to spare the city, and others from fear for their own safety.

§ 4. Now at first dawn of day Chærea, and those that were associated with him, went to the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the mass of the soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for silence with their hands, and were

going to begin to speak to them, grew tumultuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they all desired to be under the rule of one; and they demanded of the senate an emperor, for they would endure no longer delays. But the senate were in a fix about either their own governing, or how they should be governed, for the soldiers would not allow them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. As affairs were in this posture, Chærea was not able to contain his anger at their demand for an emperor, and promised that he would give them a leader, if any one would bring him the word for the day from Eutychus. Now this Eutychus was charioteer of the green faction in the Circus at Rome,<sup>1</sup> and a great friend of Caius, who used to tire out the soldiers with building stables for his horses, and put them to ignominious labours. Chærea reproached them with this, and other similar things, and told them, he would bring them the head of Claudius, for it was monstrous after a madman to have a fool for emperor. But they were not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their standards, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without anybody to defend them, and the consuls had no more authority than private persons: and there was great consternation and dejection, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was irritated by them; so they fell to reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At this juncture Sabinus, one of Caius' murderers, came forward and threatened to kill himself sooner than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; and also rebuked Chærea for loving life, since he, who was first in his contempt of Caius, could think it good to live, now that (after all they had done) they found it impossible to recover their liberty. But Chærea said he had not changed his mind at all about killing himself, but he would sound the intentions of Claudius first.

§ 5. Such was the posture of affairs in the senate. But in the camp every body was pushing their way from all

<sup>1</sup> See Juvenal, xi. 196, Gibbon, ch. 40.

sides to pay their court to Clādīus, and one of the consuls, Quintus Pomponius, was especially reproached by the soldiers for having exhorted the senate to recover their liberty, and they drew their swords, and rushed at him, and would have murdered him, if Clādīus had not hindered them. For he snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by his side; but he did not receive those of the senate who had sided with Quintus in the like honourable manner; for some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Clādīus, and Aponius went away wounded, and all were in danger. Then king Agrippa went up to Clādīus, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. And Clādīus listened to him, and called the senate together to the palace, and was carried there himself in his litter through the city, the soldiers escorting him not without injuring the multitude a good deal. And Chærea and Sabinus, two of Caius' murderers, went about openly, though Pollio, whom Clādīus had a little before made captain of his body-guards, had sent them a letter, forbidding them to appear in public. So Clādīus, upon his reaching the palace, got his friends together, and desired their opinion as to Chærea. They said that the deed done seemed a glorious one, but they accused the doer of disloyalty, and thought it just to inflict condign punishment upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Chærea was led out to execution, and Lupa and many other Romans with him. And it is reported that Chærea bore his fate nobly, as was evidenced not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by his reproach to Lupa, who fell into tears; for when Lupa had laid his garment aside and complained of the cold,<sup>1</sup> Chærea said that cold never hurt lupus [i.e. a wolf]. And as a great multitude followed to see the sight, when Chærea came to the place of execution, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner whether the office was one he was used to, or

<sup>1</sup> This piercing cold here complained of by Lupa, agrees well to the time of the year when Clādīus began his reign: that being a few days after January 24th, the day on which Caius was murdered.—W.

whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and bade him fetch the very sword with which he himself had slain Caius. And he was happily killed at one stroke; but Luper did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, as he was timid, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly.

§ 6. Now, a few days after this, as the festival called the Parentalia<sup>1</sup> was just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual offerings to their dead relatives, and put portions into the fire in honour of Chærea, and besought him to be propitious to them, and not angry with them for their ingratitude. Such was the end of Chærea. As for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, he thought it would be unjust in him to fail in good faith to his fellow-conspirators, so he fell upon his sword and killed himself, driving his sword up to the very hilt in the wound.

## CHAP. V.

*How Claudius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominions, and how he published an Edict in behalf of the Jews.*

### § 1.

NOW, when Claudius had speedily got rid of all the soldiers whom he suspected, he published an edict, wherein he confirmed to Agrippa the kingdom which Caius had given him, and commended the king highly. He also added to it all the territory over which his grandfather Herod had reigned, that is, Judæa and Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to his family. As for Abila,<sup>2</sup> that had belonged to Lysanias, and all the country near

<sup>1</sup> A festival at Rome in honour of dead relatives. Our All Souls' Day.

<sup>2</sup> The capital of the tetrarchy of Abilene (Luke iii. 1). The ruins are near *Nebi Habil*, not far from the remarkable gorge called *Sük Wady Barada*.

Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territory. He also made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome. He also took away from Antiochus the kingdom which he had, but gave him a portion of Cilicia and Commagene.<sup>1</sup> He also set at liberty Alexander Lysimachus, the Alabarch, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by the anger of Caius. Now Marcus, Alexander's son, had married Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa; and when Marcus died, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, and begged of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis<sup>2</sup> for him.

§ 2. Now, about this time, there was strife between the Jews and Greeks in the city of Alexandria. For when Caius was dead the nation of the Jews, which had been very much oppressed under his reign, and very badly treated by the people of Alexandria, recovered courage and immediately took up arms. And Claudius sent an order to the governor of Egypt to quiet the tumult. He also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows. "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, and Tribune of the people, ordains as follows. Since I have long known that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint colonists from the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident from the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts, and since, after Alexandria was made part of our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those who have at divers times been sent there as governors, and since no disputes were raised about those rights and privileges, when Aquila was governor of Alexandria, and since, when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit making ethnarchs, wishing that all nations subject to the Romans should continue in the observance of their own customs, and

<sup>1</sup> The district of Antiochiane in Cappadocia, in which Derbe, Laranda, Kybistra, &c., were situated.

<sup>2</sup> Kinnisrin, in Northern Syria.

not be forced to transgress their country's religion ; and since, in the reign of Caius, the Alexandrians became excited against the Jews that were among them, and Caius, from his great madness and want of understanding, oppressed the nation of the Jews, because they would not transgress their national worship, and call him a god, I decree that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges on account of the madness of Caius, but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no trouble arises after the promulgation of this edict."

§ 3. Such were the contents of the edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent to Alexandria. But the edict that was sent to the rest of the world was as follows. "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the people, chosen Consul the second time, ordains as follows. Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges to be preserved to the Jews throughout all the Roman empire, as I have granted to the Jews of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith, not only to gratify my petitioners, but also judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Greek city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It is therefore right to permit the Jews throughout all our empire to keep their ancient customs without let or hindrance. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show contempt at the superstitious observances of other nations, but to observe their own laws only. And I will that the rulers of cities and colonies and municipal towns, both within and without Italy, and kings and governors by their ambassadors, post up this decree publicly for full thirty days, in a place<sup>1</sup> where it may plainly be read from the ground."

<sup>1</sup> This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr.

## CHAP. VI.

*What was done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he had returned to Judæa : and what Petronius wrote in behalf of the Jews to the Inhabitants of Doris.*

## § 1.

NOW Claudius Cæsar showed by these decrees, which were sent to Alexandria and to all the world, what opinion he had of the Jews. And he soon sent Agrippa away to administer his kingdom, advanced as he was to more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the governors and procurators of the provinces to treat him with attention. And he returned in haste, as it was likely he would, now he returned in greater prosperity than before. He also went to Jerusalem, and offered thank-offerings, and omitted nothing that the law required. So he ordered that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn, and as for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of the same weight as the iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the temple precincts above the treasury, as a memorial of his sad fortune, and a testimony of his change for the better, that it might be a proof how the greatest prosperity may have a fall sometimes, and that God can raise up what is fallen down. For this chain thus dedicated reminded all men, that king Agrippa had once been bound with a chain for a small matter, but had recovered his former rank again, and soon afterwards had got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand that all that partake of human nature, however great, may fall ; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious rank again.

§ 2. And when Agrippa had discharged all his religious duties to God, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus,

Hudson here tells us, from the great Selden, that it used to be thus represented at the bottom of their edicts by the initial letters only *U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De Plano Recte Legi Posit.* “Where it may plainly be read from the ground.”—W.

from the high-priesthood, and bestowed his office on Simon (the son of Boethus) also called Cantheras. This Simon had two brothers, and a sister who married king Herod, as I have related before. Simon, then, had the high-priesthood with his brothers, and with his father, in like manner as the three sons of Simon, the son of Onias, had it formerly under the rule of the Macedonians, as I have related in a former book.

§ 3. When the king had settled the high-priesthood in this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shown him; for he released them from the tax upon every house, thinking it a good thing to requite the affections of those that loved him. He also made Silas, who had shared with him in many of his troubles, the general of his forces. But very soon afterwards the young men of Doris,<sup>1</sup> preferring audacity to piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of the emperor into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This action of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he went without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then governor of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris, in angry strain. “Publius Petronius, the lieutenant of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows. Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather (after the edict of Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, was published, permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country,) not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, and setting up the emperor’s statue therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but also the emperor himself, whose statue is more properly placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, and that too in a place of assembling together, seeing that it is but a part of natural justice, that everyone should have power over the places belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Dor, now *Tantûrah*, on the sea coast north of Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

themselves, according to the decree of the emperor (to say nothing of my own decree, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, and also orders that they are to enjoy the same rights of citizens as the Greeks themselves); I therefore order Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, to bring those men before me, who, contrary to the emperor's edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, (at which the men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, are indignant also themselves, and allege that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude,) to give account of what has been done. I also advise the principal magistrates, unless they wish to have this outrage supposed to have been done with their consent, to point out to the centurion the guilty persons, and to take care that no handle be thence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel, which those who encourage such doings seem to me to hunt after; for both I myself, and king Agrippa, whom I hold in the highest honour, are more anxious about nothing than that the nation of the Jews may have no opportunity given them of gathering together and becoming tumultuous under the pretext of defending themselves. And that what the emperor has determined about the whole matter may be more publicly known, I have subjoined the edicts which he has lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, Agrippa, for whom I have the highest esteem, read nevertheless at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of the benefits which the emperor had granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that everybody be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

§ 4. Thus did Petronius make provision that such lawlessness might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the high-priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and was for putting Jonathan, the son of Ananus, back into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of the dignity. But it did not seem to him de-

sirable to resume so great a dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king ! I rejoice in the honour you show me, and take it kindly that you are inclined to give me such a dignity, though God has judged that I am not at all worthy of the high-priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments ; for I put them on then in a more holy manner, than I should now resume them. But if you desire that a person more worthy than myself should have this honour, give me leave to name such a one to you. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against yourself ; I recommend him to you, as one that is fit for this dignity." And the king was pleased with these words of his, and approved of the advice of Jonathan, and bestowed the high-priesthood upon his brother Matthias. And not long after Marsus succeeded Petronius as governor of Syria.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning Silas, and why King Agrippa was angry with him.  
How Agrippa began to surround Jerusalem with a wall ;  
and what Benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of  
Berytus.*

### § I.

NOW Silas, the general of the king's army, because he had been faithful to him in all his misfortunes, and had never declined sharing with him in any of his dangers, but had often undertaken the most perilous services for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, because of the constant friendship he had shown him. Accordingly he would not sit lower than the king at table, and used similar freedom in all his intercourse with him, and became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, by extolling himself beyond measure, and by often reminding the king of the misfortunes he had undergone, that he might bring up his own faithfulness to him in those days ; and he was continually harping upon this string, what he had gone through for him. The repetition of this so frequently seemed a

reproach to the king, insomuch that he took this uncontrolled liberty of speech very ill at his hands. For the bringing up times when men have been under a cloud is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man, who is perpetually relating to a person the good services he has done him. At last, therefore, Silas so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather from passion than reason, and not only turned Silas out of his place as general of his army, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off in time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about the man, and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa kept his birthday, and all his subjects partook of the mirth, he sent for Silas straightway to be his guest. But as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a very just handle given him for his anger, which he could not conceal from those who came to fetch him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which will soon be over? for the king has not let me keep my first rewards for the good-will I bore him, but has plundered and ill-treated me. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many dreadful things I have delivered him from, how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured for him safety and honour, as a reward for which I have borne the hardship of bonds and a dark prison. I shall never forget these things; nay, perhaps my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was what he vociferated, and ordered the messengers to repeat to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and suffered him to continue in prison.

§ 2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that looked to the new city, he repaired them at the public expense, and made them wider in breadth, and higher in altitude, and would have made them too strong for all human power to demolish, had not Marsus, the governor of Syria, informed Claudius Cæsar by letter of what he was doing. And as Claudius had some suspicion he meant innovation,

he ordered Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls at once ; and he thought it inexpedient to disobey.

§ 3. Now king Agrippa was by nature very liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with large donations, and to get celebrity by his great expenditure, as he took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with a good reputation, being very unlike the Herod who reigned before him. For that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on those that he hated, and it is admitted that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews ; for he adorned foreign cities with large grants of money, and baths, and theatres ; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and in others porticoes, but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and he was equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and displayed to them his munificence, while to his own countrymen he was equally kind, but more sympathetic. Accordingly, he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was strict in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure, nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

§ 4. Notwithstanding, a certain man of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, called Simon, who was thought to be skilled in the knowledge of the law, called the multitude together in assembly, while the king was absent at Cæsarea, and had the insolence to accuse him of not living holily, and said he might justly be excluded from entrance into the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. And the captain of the city informed Agrippa by letter that Simon had said this to the people. So the king sent for him, and, as he was sitting in the theatre at the time, he bade him sit down by him, and said to him in a low and gentle voice, "What is there done here that is contrary to the law ?" But he had nothing to say for himself, and begged for pardon. And the king was more easily reconciled to him than one would have imagined, as he esteemed mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knew that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he gave Simon a present, and dismissed him.

‘§ 5. Now, Agrippa was a great builder in many places, but paid peculiar regard to the people of Berytus.<sup>1</sup> For he erected a theatre for them, superior to many both in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheatre built at great expense, and besides these he built them baths and porticoes, and spared no cost in any of his edifices to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows in the theatre, and brought there musicians of all sorts, and such as made delightful music in great variety. He also showed his magnificence in the amphitheatre by a great number of gladiators, and there too he exhibited fighting on a large scale to please the spectators, indeed he sent no fewer than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men, using all the malefactors he had for this purpose, that both they might receive punishment, and that this operation of war might give delight in peace. Thus he destroyed all these criminals at once.

## CHAP. VIII.

*What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death ; and how he died.*

### § 1.

WHEN Agrippa had completed what I have just stated at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias,<sup>2</sup> a city in Galilee. Now he was held in great esteem by other kings. Accordingly, there came to him Antiochus, king of Commagene,<sup>3</sup> and Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa,<sup>4</sup> and Cotys, who was king of Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus,<sup>5</sup> as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis.<sup>6</sup> All these he treated with agreeable entertainments and in an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his

<sup>1</sup> *Beirút.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tubariya*, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> Between Cilicia and the Euphrates. See *Antiq. xviii. 2, § 5.*

<sup>4</sup> *Homs.*

<sup>5</sup> On the north coast of Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> *Kinnisrin.*

mind, and to appear worthy of the respect which these kings paid to him, by thus coming to see him. However, while these kings stayed with him, Marsus the governor of Syria came to visit him. And Agrippa, to show the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city as far as seven furlongs to meet him. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marsus; for Agrippa took with him in his chariot those other kings seated with him. And Marsus was suspicious what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings with one another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many kings for the benefit of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his friends to each of them, and enjoined them to go to their own countries without delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became Marsus' enemy. And he took the high-priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elionæus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead.

§ 2. Now, when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judæa, he went to the city of Cæsarea,<sup>1</sup> which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Claudius Cæsar, upon his being informed that this festival was one instituted for his safety. At this festival a great multitude assembled together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity throughout the province. On the second day of the shows Agrippa put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre at daybreak; at which time the silver of his garment being illumined by the early rays of the sun's beams upon it, glittered in a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to inspire fear and trembling in those that looked intently upon him. And straightway his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, (though not really for his good,) that "he was a god;" and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet do we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But soon afterwards he looked up, and saw an

<sup>1</sup> Cæsarea Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*.

owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings, and felt heart-piercing grief. A severe pain also seized his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore jumped up from his seat and said to his friends, “I whom ye call a god, am now commanded to depart this life; fate thus reproving the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am now hurried off to death. But I am bound to accept my destiny, as it pleases God; for I have lived no paltry life, but in a splendid and happy manner.” When he had said this, his pain became intense. So he was carried quickly into the palace, and the rumour went abroad every where, that he would certainly die soon. And the multitude at once sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country, and besought God for the king’s recovery; and all places were full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar; three of them over Philip’s tetrarchy only, but in the fourth he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned also three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar, during which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judæa and Samaria and Cæsarea added to them. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, being no less than twelve millions of drachmæ.<sup>1</sup> However, he borrowed great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his income, and his generosity was boundless.

§ 3. But before the multitude knew of Agrippa’s having expired, Herod the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the commander and friend of the king, sent Aristo, one of the king’s

<sup>1</sup> This sum, which is equal to £425,000 sterling, was Agrippa the Great’s yearly income, or about three quarters of his grandfather Herod’s income; he having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, and not being so tyrannical as Herod had been to the Jews.—W.

most faithful servants, and slew Silas (who was their enemy), as if it had been done by the king's own command.

## CHAP. IX.

*What happened after the Death of Agrippa; and how Claudius, on account of the Youth and Unskilfulness of Agrippa Junior, sent Cuspius Fadus to be Governor of Judæa, and of the entire Kingdom of Agrippa.*

### § 1.

THUS did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son Agrippa, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of whom, Berenice, was married to Herod her father's brother, and was sixteen years old; the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins, Mariamne was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these daughters had been betrothed by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, and Drusilla to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the king of Commagene. Now when it was known that Agrippa had departed this life, the inhabitants of Cæsarea and of Sebaste<sup>1</sup> forgot the kindnesses he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies. For they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as were not fit to be spoken, and as many of them as were then soldiers (who were a great number), went to his house, and carried off the statues<sup>2</sup> of the king's daughters, and with one accord carried them into the brothels, and, when they had set them on the roofs of those houses, abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also reclined in public places and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and anointed themselves, pouring out libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king had expired. And they were not only unmindful of Agrippa, who

<sup>1</sup> *Sebastieh.*

<sup>2</sup> Photius says, they were not the statues or images, but the ladies themselves, who were thus basely abused by the soldiers.—W.

had lavishly extended his liberality to them, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expense.

§ 2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome at this time, being brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when the emperor heard that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea had acted so insolently to his memory, he was sorry for the death of Agrippa, and was displeased with the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa Junior away at once to succeed his father in the kingdom, and wished to make good his oaths. But those freedmen and friends of his, who had the greatest influence with him, tried to dissuade him from it, and said that it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come into the hands of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration, for the weight of a kingdom was heavy enough to a grown man. And the emperor thought what they said reasonable. So he sent out Cuspius Fadus to be governor of Judæa, and of the entire kingdom of Agrippa, and paid that respect to the deceased, not to introduce Marsus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined before everything to give injunctions to Fadus to chastise the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste for the insults they had offered to the memory of him that was deceased, and their licentious conduct to his daughters that were still alive; and to remove the body of soldiers that were at Cæsarea and Sebaste, and the five cohorts, to Pontus, that they might do military duty there, and to choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. However those that had such orders were not actually removed; for by sending messengers to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to stay in Judæa still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of the war which began under Florus. And so, when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of the province, as I shall relate hereafter.

## BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.—  
FROM FADUS TO FLORUS.

## CHAP. I.

*A Quarrel between the Philadelphians and the Jews ; also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest.*

## § 1.

UPON the death of king Agrippa, which I related in the previous book, Claudius Cæsar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marsus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marsus to be any longer governor of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come into Judæa to administer affairs, found a quarrel going on between the Jews that dwelt in Peræa<sup>1</sup> and the people of Philadelphia,<sup>2</sup> about their borders, at a village called Mia,<sup>3</sup> that was filled with men of war ; for the Jews of Peræa had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had slain many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this, it provoked him very much that they had not left the decision of the matter to him, if they thought the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this strife, and ordered them to be bound, and afterwards had one of them slain, whose name was Annibas, and banished the other two, Amaramus and Eleazar. Tholomaeus also, the arch robber, was, in a little time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a great deal of mischief to Idumæa and the Arabians. And indeed all Judæa was cleared of robberies from that time by the care and forethought of Fadus. He also at this time sent for

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq., xvii. 8, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Rabbeth Ammon, 'Ammān.

<sup>3</sup> Unknown.

the high priests and principal persons in Jerusalem by command of the emperor, and bade them place the long garment, and the sacred vestment, which it was customary for only the high priest to wear, in the fortress of Antonia,<sup>1</sup> that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said, but nevertheless begged Fadus and Longinus (which last had come to Jerusalem with a great army, from fear that the injunctions of Fadus would force the Jews to rebel,) first to give them leave to send ambassadors to the emperor, to petition him that they might have the holy vestments in their own power, and next to wait till they knew what answer Claudius would give to their request. And they replied that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as hostages. And when they had agreed to do so and had given them the hostages they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. And when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa Junior, the son of the deceased, knew of the reason why they came (for he dwelt with Claudius Cæsar, as I said before,) he besought the emperor to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestment, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

§ 2. Thereupon Claudius summoned the ambassadors, and told them he granted their request, and bade them return their thanks to Agrippa for this favour which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty. And, besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter. "Claudius Cæsar, Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and consul designate the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and whole nation of the Jews, greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by my friend Agrippa (whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety), who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and have entreated me in an earnest and solemn manner, that they may have the holy vestment and the crown in their own power, I grant their

<sup>1</sup> On the north side of the Temple.

request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, did before me. And I have complied with your desire, first in regard to my own piety and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and next because I know I shall hereby gratify king Herod and Aristobulus Junior, whose piety to me and good-will to you I am well acquainted with, and for whom I have the greatest friendship, as I highly esteem them and value them. I have also written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus my procurator. The carriers of the letter are Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theudio, Dorotheus the son of Nathanael, and John the son of John. Dated the fourth day before the Calends of July, Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus being consuls."

§ 3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was at this time possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for authority over the temple, and the sacred money, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for; so that after this time that authority continued<sup>1</sup> with all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly, Herod removed the high priest called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camei.

## CHAP. II.

*How Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the Poor with Corn when there was a great Famine at Jerusalem.*

### § 1.

A BOUT this time Helena, queen of Adiabene,<sup>2</sup> and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, for the following reason. Monobazus,

<sup>1</sup> Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus; for the power of appointing high priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa Junior was made king of Chalcis in his room, belonged to him, and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed.

—W.

<sup>2</sup> A district on the greater Zab, which formed a vassal state respec-

the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazæus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and got her with child. And as he was in bed with her one night, having laid his hand upon his wife's belly, he fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice bidding him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which, by God's providence, would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice troubled him, and he woke immediately, and told the matter to his wife, and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had also had Monobazus, an elder son, by Helena, and other sons by other wives. But he openly placed all his affections on this his only begotten<sup>1</sup> son Izates, which was the origin of the envy of his brothers, who on this account hated him more and more, and all grieved that their father should prefer Izates to them. Now although their father was well aware of this, yet did he forgive them, as not feeling envy from an evil disposition, but from the desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates with many presents to Abennerigus, the king of Charax-Spasini,<sup>2</sup> because of the great dread he was in for him, lest he should come to some misfortune from the hatred of his brothers, and he committed his son's safety to him. And Abennerigus gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Symacho : he also bestowed a province upon him, from which he might receive large revenues.

§ 2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he wished to see his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the region called Carræ ;<sup>3</sup> it was a soil that bore amomum in great plenty : there are also in it the remains of the ark, wherein

tively of Armenia, Parthia, and Rome. At one period it extended west of the Tigris to Nisibis, *Nisibin*. See xx. 3, § 3.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus here uses the word *μονογενῆ*, only begotten son, for best beloved, as do both the Old and New Testament : I mean where there were one or more sons besides (Gen. xxii. 2, Heb. xi. 17).—W.

<sup>2</sup> Between the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. See Antiq., i. 6, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Harran*. See Antiq., i. 16, § 1; i. 19, § 4.

it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, which are still shown to such as desire to see them.<sup>1</sup> And Izates abode in that region until his father's death. And the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees and satraps of the kingdom, and for those in command of the forces ; and when they were come, she made the following speech to them. “ I believe you are not ignorant that my husband desired Izates to succeed him in the kingdom, and thought him worthy to do so. However, I wait your determination ; for happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person only, but from the willingness of many.” She said this in order to try to discover the sentiments of those whom she had summoned together. Upon the hearing of this, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it, and rejoiced that Izates' father had preferred him before the rest of his brothers, as it was agreeable to all their wishes. But they said they were desirous first of all to slay his brothers and kinsmen, that so the kingdom might come securely to Izates ; for if they were once destroyed, all the fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him. Helena replied to this, that she returned them her thanks for their good-will to herself and to Izates ; but desired that they would defer the execution of this proposed slaughter of Izates' brothers till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it. But as these men prevailed not with her to slay them, as they had advised, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till Izates should come for their own security ; they also counselled her to appoint some one whom she put the greatest trust in, as regent of the kingdom in the mean time. Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and appointed Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's signet ring, as also the sword of state which they call Sampsera, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come. But Izates returned quickly, on hearing that his father was

<sup>1</sup> It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in existence in the days of Josephus. See i. 3, § 5.—W.

dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the kingdom to him.

§ 3. Now, during the time that Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the king's women, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. Moreover through them he became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace the Jewish religion, and also, at his earnest entreaty, accompanied Izates when he was sent for by his father to Adiabene. It also happened that Helena was instructed similarly by another Jew, and went over also to the Jewish religion. Now when Izates had taken over the kingdom, and had come to Adiabene, and there saw his brothers and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at what had been done ; and as he thought it impious either to slay or imprison them, but still thought it hazardous to let them have their liberty at his court, as they would remember the injury that had been done them, he sent some of them with their children as hostages to Rome to Claudius Cæsar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, on the like pretext.

§ 4. And when he found that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he was fain to embrace them entirely ; and, as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to undergo that operation. But when his mother heard of his intention, she endeavoured to hinder him from it, and told him that it would bring him into danger ; for as he was king, he would get himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should learn that he was so fond of rites to them strange and foreign, and they would never submit to be ruled over by a Jew. She said this to him, and tried every way to dissuade him from his purpose. And when he had repeated what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said, and also threatened to leave the king, unless he complied with him, and actually departed. For he said he was afraid lest, if such an action were once made public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, as having been the cause of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were ill thought of. He also said that the king might wor-

ship God without being circumcised, even though he did resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, for the worship of God was of more importance than circumcision. He added that God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, as it was omitted out of necessity, and from fear of his subjects. And the king for the time listened to these arguments, but afterwards (for he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing) another Jew that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the knowledge of his country's laws, urged him to do it. For as he entered his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, " You are ignorant, O king, of the immense injury you are doing to the laws, and through them to God himself, for it is necessary not only to read them, but also still more to practise what they enjoin. How long will you continue uncircumcised? But, if you have not yet read the law on the matter, that you may know what great impiety you are guilty of in neglecting it, read it now." When the king heard these words, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his original instructor in Jewish principles, and informed them that he had done the thing, upon which they were at once seized with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the matter should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, as his subjects might not submit to be governed by a man who was so zealous for a strange religion ; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the cause of his having so done. But God himself hindered what they feared from happening : for he preserved both Izates himself, and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and showed thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish for those that look to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But I shall relate these events hereafter.

§ 5. Now Helena, the king's mother, when she saw that the affairs of the kingdom were in peace, and that her son

was a happy man, and an object of envy to all men, even to foreigners, owing to God's providence over him, desired to go to the city of Jerusalem, to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she asked her son to give her leave to go there, upon which he gave his very willing consent to what she asked, and made great preparations for her departure, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city of Jerusalem, her son conducting her a great way on her journey. Now her visit was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem, for as a famine oppressed their city at that time, and many people died for want of money to procure necessaries with, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with a great quantity of money to buy corn, and others of them to Cyprus to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they had come back with those provisions very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left an excellent memorial behind her of this beneficence to our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem, which being distributed amongst those that were in want relieved many from the gripping pangs of hunger. However, what favours this king and queen conferred upon our city of Jerusalem, and what resources came from her to our citizens, shall be further related hereafter.

### CHAP. III.

*How Artabanus, King of Parthia, afraid of the Plots of his Subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his Kingdom; as also how Vardanes, his son, denounced War against Izates.*

#### § 1.

NOW Artabanus, king of the Parthians, on learning that his satraps had formed a plot against him, did not think it safe to remain among them, but resolved to go

to Izates, wishing to find some way of preservation through him, and, if possible, to get his return to his own dominions. So he went to Izates, and took a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, and he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and had first prostrated himself before him, according to the custom of his country, he then said to him, “O, king, do not overlook me thy servant, nor proudly reject the suit I make thee: for as I am reduced to a low estate by reverse of fortune, and from a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Look then at the uncertainty of fortune, and consider the case as one that might be thine, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also; for if I be neglected, and my subjects go unpunished, many subjects will become more insolent towards other kings also.” Now Artabanus made this speech with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. And as soon as Izates heard Artabanus’ name, and saw him stand as a suppliant before him, he leapt down from his horse quickly, and said to him, “Take courage, O king, and be not disturbed at thy present calamity, as if it were incurable; for a change from thy sad condition shall be speedy, for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and assistant than thou hopest; for I will either reinstate thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own kingdom.”

§ 2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and himself accompanied him on foot, honouring him as a greater king than himself. But when Artabanus saw this, he was very uneasy at it, and swore by his present fortune and honour that he would dismount, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him every honour when they sat together, and gave him the chief place at festivals, regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and considering also that changes in fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, urging them to receive Artabanus again, and gave them his right hand and faith, that Artabanus would forget what was past and done, and offered himself

as mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was now out of their power to do so, because they had given the kingdom to another person, who had accepted it, whose name was Cinnamus, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus heard of their views, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was by nature good and gentle, and besought him to put confidence in him, and come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly, Artabanus trusted him, and returned home, and Cinnamus met him, and prostrated himself before him, and saluted him as king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

§ 3. Thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again through Izates, after he had previously lost it owing to his grandees. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits Izates had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with the greatest honours among them; for he allowed him to wear his tiara upright,<sup>1</sup> and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour allowed only to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis,<sup>2</sup> and the Macedonians had formerly built there the city of Antioch, which they called in Mygdonia. These were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

§ 4. But no long time after Artabanus died, and left the kingdom to his son Vardanes. Now this Vardanes came to Izates, and urged him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make against the Romans, but he could not prevail upon him to do so. For Izates knew so well the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he thought Vardanes was attempting what was impossible. And having besides sent his sons, five in number, and those but young also, to learn accurately the language and learning of our nation, as he had

<sup>1</sup> This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with the tip of the cone erect, is known to have been of old peculiar to great kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.—W.

<sup>2</sup> *Nisibin*, in Mesopotamia.

sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have related already, he was still more reluctant, and tried to restrain Vardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thinking thereby to frighten him, and hinder him from his desire for an expedition against them. But the Parthian king was provoked at this behaviour, and proclaimed war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein ; for the Parthians, perceiving Vardanes' intention, and how he had determined to war against the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Cotardes. He also in no long time perished by a plot made against him, and Vologeses, his brother, succeeded him, who entrusted his kingdoms to two of his brothers by the same father, Media to the elder Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger Tiridates.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Izates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians ; and how, by the Providence of God, he was delivered out of their hands.*

## § 1.

NOW when the king's brother, Monobazus, and his other kinsman, saw how Izates, owing to his piety to God and inherent goodness of character, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace that of the Jews, and they carried out their intention. But this act of theirs was discovered by Izates' subjects, and the grandees were much displeased at it, but dissembled their anger, only they intended, when they could find a convenient opportunity, to inflict punishment upon them. Accordingly, they wrote to Abias, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king : and further promised him that on the first onset they would desert their king, for they wished to punish him because of the hatred he had to their

religion, and they bound themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other, and begged that he would lose no time in the matter. The king of Arabia complied with their request, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates without delay; and at the first onset, and before they came to close fight, all those grandees, as if in a panic, deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and turned their backs upon their enemies, and ran away. But Izates was not dismayed at this, but as he saw that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired to his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he put to death those that were found guilty, and renewed the fight the next day, and slew most of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called Arsamus,<sup>1</sup> and, following up the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And, when he had plundered it of all the spoil that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene, but he did not take Abias alive; because, as he found himself surrounded on every side, he slew himself, before he could fall into the hands of Izates.

§ 2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not be quiet even then, but wrote again to Vologeses, who was now king of Parthia, and begged that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be a Parthian by race; for they said they hated their own king for changing the laws of their forefathers, and being enamoured of foreign customs. When the king of Parthia heard this, he was elated at the idea of war, and as he had no just pretext for it, he sent and demanded back those honours which had been bestowed on Izates by Artabanus, and threatened, on his refusal, to war against him. Upon hearing this, Izates was in no small trouble of mind, thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those honours that had been bestowed upon him from fear; but because he knew that the king of Parthia would not be quiet, even if

<sup>1</sup> Site unknown.

he should receive back those honours, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life: and as he esteemed God his principal help, he placed his children and wives in a very strong fortress, and stored up his corn in citadels, and set the hay and grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come with a great army of foot and horse, which he did sooner than was expected, (for he marched in great haste,) and had intrenched himself at the river that separated Adiabene from Media, Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horse. But a messenger, sent by the king of Parthia, came to Izates, and told him, how great the power of the king of Parthia was, as his dominions extended from the river Euphrates to Bactria,<sup>1</sup> and enumerated the king's subjects. He also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his master, and added, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands. When the messenger had delivered this message, Izates replied that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own, but he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and defiled his head with ashes, and fasted with his wives and children, and called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly esteemed thee the only Lord and chief protector and master of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power, for they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament with weeping and wailing. And God heard his prayer, for immediately, that very night, Vologeses received letters, the contents of which were that a great band of Dahæ and Sacæ, despising him now he had gone so long a journey from home, had

<sup>1</sup> *Balkh*, south of the Oxus in Afghan Turkistan.

made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste, so he went home again without effecting his purpose. And thus Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthian by the providence of God.

§ 3. And not long after Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. And he gave orders that his brother Monobazus should succeed him as king, thereby requiting him, because, when he was himself absent after his father's death, he had faithfully preserved the kingdom for him. But when his mother Helena heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon the loss of a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her to hear that the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly, she went to him in haste, and when she had reached Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates, but soon expired, being worn out with old age and grief. And Monobazus sent her bones and those of Izates his brother to Jerusalem, and gave orders that they should be buried in the pyramids which their mother had erected; they were three in number,<sup>1</sup> and three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. As for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, I shall relate them hereafter.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilæan; as also what calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.*

### § 1.

NOW when Fadus was administrator of Judæa, a certain impostor, whose name was Theudas,<sup>3</sup> urged a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and

<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, is usually identified with the 'Tombs of the Kings,' north of Jerusalem. No traces of the three pyramids remain.

<sup>2</sup> This account is now wanting.—W.

<sup>3</sup> This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A.D. 45 or 46, could not be the Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenius, or about A.D. 7, Acts v. 36, 37.—W.

follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it: and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to reap any advantage from their folly, but despatched a troop of horse against them, who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas himself alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus' administration.

§ 2. Tiberius Alexander came as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria, who was foremost among his contemporaries both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for piety than his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these administrators it was that that great famine happened in Judæa, when queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have related already. Moreover the sons of that Judas of Galilee were now slain, who caused the people to revolt from the Romans, when Cyrenius came to assess the estates of the Jews, as I have shown in a previous book. The names of these sons were James and Simon, and Alexander commanded them to be crucified. And Herod, king of Chalcis,<sup>1</sup> removed Joseph, the son of Cemedē, from the high priesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedæus, his successor. And Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander, and Herod, brother of Agrippa the Great, departed this life in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, and Berenicianus and Hyrcanus, who were both by Berenice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa Junior.

§ 3. Now while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. I shall first explain the reason why it happened. When the feast, which is called the Passover, was at hand,

<sup>1</sup> *Kinnisrin.*

(at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread), and a great multitude had gathered together from all parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid lest some disturbance should then be made by them ; so he ordered that one regiment of soldiers should take their arms, and stand in the temple porticoes, to suppress any riot which might occur, which was no more than what former governors of Judæa had done at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast a certain soldier exposed his person to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, that this shameful action was not done to insult them, but God himself. Nay, some of the bolder ones reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on to act so by him, and when Cumanus heard that, he was not a little provoked at such reproaches, yet did he exhort them to leave off the desire for riot, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But as he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on the more reproaching him, he gave order that the whole army should take their entire armour, and go to Antonia, which was a fortress, (as I have said already), which overlooked the temple ; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were frightened at them, and ran away hastily : but as the passages out were narrow, and as they thought their enemies followed them, they crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in these narrow passages. So that no fewer than twenty thousand perished in this tumult. Thus, instead of a festival, they had at last mourning, and they all forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping ; so great an affliction did the obscene conduct of a single soldier bring upon them.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also ; for some of those that had raised this riot robbed Stephanus, a slave of Cæsar, as

<sup>1</sup> This and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, illustrate the cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they said, Matt. xxvi. 5, "Let us not take Jesus on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people ;" as Reland well observes on this place. Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Jewish War, i. 4, § 3.—W.

he was journeying along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, and plundered him of all that he had with him. And when Cumanus heard of this, he sent soldiers immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him, for he would exact vengeance for this audacious act. Now, as these villages were being ravaged, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of the villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces, and did this with reproachful language and much scurrility. Now when the Jews heard of this, they ran together in great numbers, and went down to Cæsarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been insulted, for they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their forefathers must be insulted in this manner. Then Cumanus, fearing that the multitude would go in for another riot, following also the advice of his friends, had the soldier beheaded who had offered this insult to the laws, and so put a stop to the riot which was likely to burst out a second time.

## CHAP. VI.

*How a Quarrel happened between the Jews and the Samaritans,  
and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.*

### § 1.

A QUARREL also arose between the Samaritans and the Jews for the following reason. It was the custom of the Galilæans, when they came to the holy city for the festivals, to journey through the country of the Samaritans ;<sup>1</sup> and at this time there lay in the road they

<sup>1</sup> This constant passage of the Galilæans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judæa and Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the Gospels to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly observes. See Luke xvii. 11 ; John iv. 4. See also Josephus' Life, § 52, where the journey is said to take three days.—W.

took a village that was called *Ginæa*<sup>1</sup> (which was situated on the borders of Samaria and the great plain,) some inhabitants of which fought with the Galilæans, and killed many of them. And when the leading Galilæans heard of what had been done, they went to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that had been killed : but he was bribed with money by the Samaritans to do nothing in the matter. And the Galilæans were much displeased at this, and urged the multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, and said that slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but when it was joined with injuries, it was perfectly intolerable. And when their principal men endeavoured to pacify them, and tried to stop the tumult, and promised to endeavour to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took their weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dinaeus (a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountain), and set on fire and plundered several villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of this action of theirs, he took the troop of horse at Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> and four regiments of foot, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and came up with them, and slew a great number of them, but took more alive ; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem in reputation and family, as soon as they saw to what a height of calamity things had come, put on sackcloth, and heaped ashes upon their heads, and in all kind of ways besought and urged the insurgents to consider the utter ruin of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves their wives and children, which would be the result of what they were doing, and to alter their minds, and cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These arguments prevailed with them. So the people dispersed, and the robbers went away again to their strongholds. And from this time all Judæa was overrun with bands of robbers.

§ 2. But the leading persons of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, who was at this

<sup>1</sup> *Jenin*, on the borders of the plain of Esdraelon.

<sup>2</sup> *Sebastieh*.

time at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them. They also said that they were not so much displeased at what they had themselves suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby shown to the Romans, for if the Jews had received any injury,<sup>1</sup> they ought to have made the Romans the judges of what had been done, and not overrun the country, as if they had not the Romans for their governors. So they now came to him to obtain satisfaction. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and before everything maintained that Cumanus had been bribed by their gifts, and so passed over in silence the murder of those that had been slain. When Quadratus heard this, he put off the hearing of the case, and said he would give sentence after he went into Judæa, and got a more exact knowledge of the truth. So they went away without effecting their object: but not long afterwards Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the case, he came to the conclusion that the Samaritans were the authors of the disturbance. But, when he was informed that some of the Jews were for revolution, he ordered those whom Cumanus had taken captive to be crucified. From thence he went to a certain village called Lydda,<sup>1</sup> which was as big as a city, and there heard the Samaritans a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dortus, and some other riotous persons with him, four in number, had urged the multitude to revolt from the Romans. And Quadratus ordered them to be put to death, but he sent Ananias the high priest and Ananus the commander in bonds to Rome, to give account for what they had done to Claudius Cæsar. He also ordered the principal persons both of the Samaritans and the Jews, as also Cumanus the governor, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, to be judged before him as to their differences with one another. He next went to the city of Jerusalem, fearing that the multitude of the Jews would again attempt

<sup>1</sup> *Ludd.*

a riot, but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of their usual festivals to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any rioting, and left them celebrating the festival, and returned to Antioch.

§ 3. Now Cumanus, and the principal Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, on which they were to plead their cause about their differences with one another. But the Emperor's freed-men and friends were very zealous on behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans, and they would have prevailed over the Jews, had not Agrippa Junior, who was then at Rome, observing that the principal of the Jews were hard set, earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to urge her husband to hear the case, as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of the insurrection. And Claudius was moved by this request and heard the case, and when he found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in these troubles, he gave orders that those who had come up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave orders that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then put to death.

## CHAP. VII.

*Felix is made Governor of Judæa; also concerning Agrippa Junior and his Sisters.*

### § 1.

THEN Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to administer affairs in Judæa. And when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanæa,<sup>1</sup> and added thereto Trachonitis<sup>2</sup> and Abila,<sup>3</sup> which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias, but he took from him Chalcis, when he had reigned over it four years. And when

<sup>1</sup> See Antiq. xvii. 8, § 1.    <sup>2</sup> *el-Lejah.*    <sup>3</sup> See Antiq. xix. 5, § 1.

Agrippa had received these gifts from the Emperor, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circumcised. For Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, refused to marry her, not wishing to come over to the Jewish religion, though he had promised her father formerly he would do so. Agrippa also gave Mariamne in marriage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had formerly been betrothed by her father Agrippa; of which marriage came a daughter, whose name was Berenice.

§ 2. As for the marriage of Drusilla and Azizus, it was no long time afterwards dissolved for the following reason. When Felix was governor of Judæa, he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her, for she did indeed excel all other women in beauty, and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon, one of his friends, a Jew, born in Cyprus, who pretended to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present husband, and marry Felix, and promised, that if she would not refuse Felix, he would make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted wickedly, and because she was desirous to avoid her sister Berenice's envy (for she was very ill treated by her on account of her beauty), was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her forefathers, and to marry Felix. And she had a son by him, whom she called Agrippa. And how that young man and his wife perished at the conflagration of Mount Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cæsar, shall be related hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3. As for Berenice, she lived a widow a good while after the death of Herod [king of Chalcis], who was both her husband and uncle, but when the report went that she committed incest with her brother [Agrippa Junior], she urged Polemo, who was king of Cilicia,<sup>2</sup> to be circumcised and to marry her, supposing that by this means she should prove those calumnies to be false; and Polemo listened to her chiefly on account of her riches. But this marriage did not continue long, for Berenice soon left Polemo, owing, as was said, to her licentiousness. And he left simultaneously

<sup>1</sup> This is now wanting.—W.

<sup>2</sup> The south-eastern portion of Asia Minor; now the *Vilayet* of *Adana*.

both his marriage and the Jewish religion. At the same time Mariamne put away Archelaus, and married Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and wealth; and indeed he was then their Alabarch. And she named the son whom she had by him Agrippinus. But of all these particulars I shall hereafter speak more exactly.<sup>1</sup>

### CHAP. VIII.

*How, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded as Emperor, as also what barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors that arose while Felix and Festus were Governors of Judæa.*

#### § 1.

NOW Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and a report went about from some that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the Emperor's brother, and her first husband was Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons in the city of Rome; after whose death, when she had long continued in widowhood, Claudius married her, and she brought with her a son, Domitius, of the same name as his father. Claudius before this had his wife Messalina slain out of jealousy, by whom he had had a son Britannicus and a daughter Octavia; their eldest sister was Antonia, whom he had by Petina his first wife. And he married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Claudius gave Domitius after adopting him as his son.

§ 2. But Agrippina being afraid that, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he would succeed his father as emperor, and desiring to secure the empire beforehand for her own son Nero, according to report contrived the death of Claudius, and immediately sent Burrus, the general of the army, and the tribunes with him, and such also of the freedmen as had the greatest influence, to take Nero away to the camp, and salute him emperor. And

<sup>1</sup> This is now wanting.—W.

when Nero had thus obtained the empire, he got Britannicus poisoned so that the multitude should not know of it, but publicly put his own mother to death not long afterwards, making her this requital, not only for being her son, but by bringing it about by her intrigues that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew his wife Octavia and many other illustrious persons, under the pretext that they plotted against him.

§ 3. But I omit any further discourse about these affairs, for many have composed the history of Nero, some of whom have neglected the truth out of favour to him, having received benefits from him, while others, out of hatred to him, and from the great ill-will which they bore him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. But I do not wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to facts earlier than his time, even when the persons concerned could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they seem to take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to our undertaking, but shall relate what has happened to us Jews with great fulness, and shall not shrink from giving an accurate account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the faults we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our affairs.

§ 4. In the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, his brother Sohemus succeeded him in the kingdom. And Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was entrusted by Nero with the government of Lesser Armenia. The emperor also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, ordering Tiberias<sup>1</sup> and Taricheæ<sup>2</sup> to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias,<sup>3</sup> a city in Peræa, and fourteen villages that lay about it.

<sup>1</sup> *Tubarlyā.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably Kerak, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> Bethsaida-Julias. See Antiq. xviii. 2, § 1, and 4, § 6.

§ 5. Now the affairs of the Jews grew worse and worse continually. For the country was again full of bands of robbers, and of impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix capture and put to death many of these impostors every day, as well as the robbers. He also took alive Eleazar, the son of Dinæus, who had got together a company of robbers, and this he did by treachery, for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and so persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix was also vexed with the high priest Jonathan, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since it was he who had asked Claudius to send him as governor of Judæa. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for continual admonition is grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. So in consequence of this Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most trusted friends, a native of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him in the following manner. Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, but with daggers under their garments, and mingling themselves with the multitude slew Jonathan. And as this murder was never punished, the robbers went up with the greatest security to the festivals after this time, and having their weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves with the multitude, they slew both their own enemies and those whom other men wanted them to kill for money, not only in other parts of the city, but some even in the temple itself, for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city, and no longer judged the temple sufficiently pure for him to dwell therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the

city to purge it, and brought slavery upon us and our wives and children, being desirous to sober us by our calamities.

§ 6. With such impiety did the actions that were done by the robbers fill the city. And impostors and deceivers urged the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were persuaded by them suffered the punishment of their folly: for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. There also came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay opposite the city at five furlongs distance: for he said he wished to show them from thence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down, through which he promised to procure them an entrance into the city. Now, when Felix was informed of this, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and himself set out from Jerusalem with a great number of horse and foot, and attacked the Egyptian and those that were with him, and slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, and did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war against the Romans, and said they ought not to obey them at all, and if any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

§ 7. And now a great quarrel arose between the Jews and Syrians who inhabited Cæsarea, as to their equal right to the privileges of citizenship. For the Jews claimed the pre-eminence, because Herod their king, the founder of Cæsarea, was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was stated about Herod, but they said that Cæsarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant in the city. When the rulers of that district heard of this, they arrested the ringleaders of this dispute on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and so put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, relying on their wealth,

and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by their reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, valued themselves highly because most that served there as soldiers under the Romans were from Cæsarea<sup>1</sup> or Sebaste,<sup>2</sup> so they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews, till at last they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded and fell on both sides, though the Jews were the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he sprung forward and desired the Jews to desist, and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out at them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of many of the citizens, which were full of riches. And now the Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid for themselves, and begged of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and give them opportunity to repent of what they had done ; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

§ 8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ishmael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose dissension between the high priests and the leading men of the multitude of Jerusalem, each of whom got about them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovation, and became leaders to them, and when they met together, they cast reproachful words and threw stones at one another. And there was nobody to punish them, but these things were done with impunity as in a city without a government. And such shamelessness and boldness seized on the high priests, that they ventured to send their slaves to the threshing floors, to take the tithes that were due to the priests, so that the poorest sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of faction prevail over all right and justice !

§ 9. Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix ; and he would

<sup>1</sup> *Kaisariyeh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sebastieh.*

certainly have been brought to punishment for his offences against the Jews, had not Nero yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time held in the greatest honour by him. And two of the principal Syrians in Cæsarea bribed Burrus (who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek letters), by a great sum of money, to disannul the equality of the privileges of citizenship which the Jews enjoyed with the Syrians. And Burrus by his solicitations obtained leave of the emperor that a letter should be written to that purpose. This letter became the occasion of the subsequent miseries that befell our nation ; for, when the Jews of Cæsarea were informed of the contents of this letter to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than ever, till they kindled a war.

§ 10. Upon Festus' coming into Judæa, it happened that Judæa was afflicted by the robbers, as all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And now it was that the Sicarii, as they were called (who were robbers) grew numerous. They made use of small swords, very similar in size to the Persian acinaces, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman sicæ, as they were called, and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination, and with these weapons they slew a great many. For they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, as I said before, when they came up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, and easily slew those they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently with their weapons to the villages belonging to their enemies, and plundered them, and set them on fire. And Festus sent forces both of horse and foot, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they suffered from, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. And the forces that were sent destroyed both the impostor and his followers.

§ 11. About this time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near the portico. This palace had been erected of old by the sons of Asamonæus, and was situated upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those who wished to overlook the city, which prospect was desired by the king, for there he could recline and see what was being

done in the temple. Now when the chief men of Jerusalem observed this, they were very much displeased ; for it was not agreeable to the habits or laws of our country, that what was done in the temple should be overlooked, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a high wall before the hall in the inner part of the temple towards the west, and this wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the view from the dining-room in the palace, but also the view from the western portico in the outer part of the temple, where the Romans kept guard near the temple at the festivals. At these doings king Agrippa was much displeased, and still more Festus the governor, and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again ; but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassage about this matter to Nero ; for they said they could not endure to live, if any part of the temple were demolished ; and when Festus had given them leave to do so they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ishmael the high priest, and Helcias the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand, in order to gratify his wife Poppaea, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero, and who gave orders to the ten ambassadors to go their way home, but retained Helcias and Ishmael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph (who was called Cabi), the son of Simon who was formerly high priest.

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning Albinus, under whose Governorship James was slain, also what Edifices were built by Agrippa.*

## § 1.

AND Nero, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judæa, as governor. And king Agrippa deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was

also himself called Ananus. They say that this older Ananus was a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who were all high priests to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a very long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But the younger Ananus, who, as I have said already, succeeded to the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very audacious, and followed the sect of the Sadducees, who are more severe in punishing offenders than all other Jews, as I have already shown. As therefore Ananus was of such a disposition, he thought he had now a good opportunity [to exercise his authority,] as Festus was now dead, and Albinus was still on the road, so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, and having accused them as breakers of the law, he delivered them over to be stoned. But those who seemed the most moderate of the citizens, and strict in the observance of the laws, disliked what was done; and secretly sent to king Agrippa, beseeching him to bid Ananus to act so no more, for what he had already done was not done rightly. Nay, some of them also went to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent. And Albinus listened to what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done. And king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus the son of Damnaeus high priest.

§ 2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, so he slew many of the Sicarii. As for the high priest Ananias, he increased in credit every day, and obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner. For he was a great maker of money; so he daily courted the friendship of Albinus and the high priest by making them presents. But he had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away by violence the tithes that belonged

to the priests, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. And the high priests acted in the same manner as Ananias' servants did, without any one's being able to prevent them. And so [some of the] priests that were wont of old to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

§ 3. And the Sicarii again went into the city by night just before the festival, for one was now at hand, and took alive the scribe belonging to Eleazar the governor of the temple (who was the son of Ananus the high priest), and bound him, and carried him away with them. They then sent to Ananias, and said that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of their party whom he had captured and put in bonds. So Ananias was forced to beg Albinus to do so, and gained his request. This was the beginning of greater calamities; for the robbers perpetually contrived to take alive some of Ananias' servants, and when they had captured them, they would not let them go except in exchange for some of their own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold again, and ravaged the whole country.

§ 4. About this time king Agrippa built Cæsarea Philippi<sup>1</sup> larger than it was before, and, in honour of Nero called it Neronias. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus<sup>2</sup> at vast expense, he exhibited shows to the people there every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmæ]; for he gave the people corn and distributed oil among them. And he adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands, nay, he almost transferred there all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom. This made him greatly hated by his subjects, because he took away the things that belonged to them to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus the son of Gamaliel became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damnaeus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the latter; and so a quarrel arose between the high priests, and they got together bodies of the boldest sort of people, who frequently from reproaches proceeded to throwing stones at each other. But Ananias got the best of it, as by his riches he gained over those that were most

<sup>1</sup> Bâniâs.

<sup>2</sup> Beirût.

ready to receive. Costobarus also and Saulus got together a multitude of wicked wretches, for they were of the royal family, and obtained favour because of their kindred to Agrippa, but they were violent and ready to plunder those who were weaker than themselves. And from that time chiefly it came to pass, that our city greatly suffered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

§ 5. Now when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to have done something for the people of Jerusalem, so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be most plainly deserving of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly ; but as for those who had been put into prison for some trifling matter, he took money of them, and dismissed them. So the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

§ 6. Now as many of the Levites (a tribe of ours) as were singers of hymns urged the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments as well as the priests ; for they said it would be a work worthy the times of his government, to date from them the commencement of such a novelty. Nor did they fail to obtain their desire ; for the king, with the suffrages of those who came to the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired ; and as part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn the hymns as they had besought him. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, and whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to escape the punishment of such transgressions.

§ 7. And now the temple was quite finished. So, when the people saw that the workmen, who were above eighteen thousand, were unemployed, and as they received no wages were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple, and as they were unwilling to keep them out of the treasures deposited there from fear of the Romans, though as they desired to make provision for the workmen, they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them (for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately), they

urged the king to rebuild the east portico. This portico was on the outer part of the temple, and lay in a deep valley, and had walls four hundred cubits [in length], built of square and very white stones, the length of each stone being twenty cubits, and the height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa (who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar), considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly so in the case of this portico (for it would require a considerable time and great sums of money), denied the petitioners their request about this matter; but he did not prevent their paving the city with white stone. He also deprived Jesus the son of Gamaliel of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the war between the Jews and Romans began.

## CHAP. X.

*An enumeration of the High Priests.*

## § 1.

I NOW think it necessary and proper for this history to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who had that dignity, and how many of them there were to the end of the war. They say then that Aaron, the brother of Moses, first officiated to God as high priest, and that after his death his sons immediately succeeded him, and that this dignity has been continued down from them to all their posterity. Hence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, who was (as I have said) first of them, until Phinees, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three. Thirteen of these officiated as high priests from the days of Moses in the

wilderness, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judæa, when king Solomon erected the temple to God: for at first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, though afterwards they had successors even while they were alive. And these thirteen, who were descendants of the two sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another. Now their first form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses as their leader, until the building of the temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, was six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against Jerusalem and burnt the temple, and removed our nation to Babylon, and took Josedek the high priest captive. The time of these high priests was four hundred and sixty-six years six months and ten days, while the Jews were still under kingly government. But after the period of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josedek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they had returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, lived under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years, until king Antiochus Eupator, and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Berœa,<sup>1</sup> and putting his son out of the succession appointed Jacimus as high priest, who was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was cousin of the Onias that was dead, and had the same name as his father, went into Egypt, and became friendly with Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, and persuaded them to

<sup>1</sup> Aleppo.

make him high priest of the temple<sup>1</sup> which they had built to God in the district of Heliopolis, in imitation of that at Jerusalem; and as to that temple which was built in Egypt, I have spoken of it frequently. Now, when Jacimus had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest. After that the posterity of the sons of Asamonæus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as I have before related, Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and when he was killed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed the dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander succeeded him; this Judas died of illness, after he had held the priesthood together with the royal authority (for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem, which he wore for one year). And when Alexander had been both king and high priest for twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint the next high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. For the same period only did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his high priesthood, and did himself not only reign, but perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompey came and took the city of Jerusalem by storm, and put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him ruler of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, rulers of the Parthians, crossed over the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly at *Tell el-Yehûdi*.

Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king ; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sossius and Herod besieged and captured him, and Antony had him brought to Antioch and slain there. And Herod, who was then made king by the Romans, did no longer appoint high priests out of the descendants of Asamonæus, but appointed to that office men of no note, and barely priests, with the single exception of Aristobulus. For he made this Aristobulus high priest, who was the grandson of Hyrcanus who was taken by the Parthians, and married his sister Mariamne, only to win the good-will of the people, because of their remembrance of Hyrcanus. But afterwards, being afraid that all would fall away to Aristobulus, he put him to death, contriving to have him suffocated as he was swimming at Jericho, as I have already related ; and after him he never intrusted the high priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asmonæus. Herod's son Archelaus also acted like his father in the appointment of high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their own hands after Archelaus. And the number of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took and burnt the temple and the city, was in all twenty-eight, and the period they were high priests was a hundred and seven years. Some of them took part in affairs in the reigns of Herod and Archelaus his son, but after their death the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with dominion over the nation. Thus much may suffice to say concerning our high priests.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Gessius Florus the Governor, who forced the Jews to take up arms against the Romans. Conclusion of the Antiquities of the Jews.*

## § 1.

NOW Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judæa with many miseries. He was a native of Clazomenæ, and brought with him his wife

Cleopatra, (by whose friendship with Nero's wife Poppaea he obtained this government,) who was as wicked as he was. This Florus was so bad and violent in the exercise of his authority, that the Jews cried up Albinus as their benefactor, so excessive were the evils that Florus brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered by anybody; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been despatched to Judæa on purpose to display his crimes, ostentatiously showed his lawlessness to our nation, never omitting any rapine or unjust punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and was never satisfied with any amount of gain, nor did he pay any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but went shares even with the robbers. For many pursued that calling without fear, feeling perfect security, because he went shares in their robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, being unable to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all forced to leave their own habitations and flee away, as if they could dwell better any where else in the world among foreigners. And why need I say any more, for it was Florus who forced us to take up arms against the Romans, as we thought it better to be destroyed at once than by little and little. For this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. And what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we had to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

§ 2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities, after which I began to write my account of the war. Now these Antiquities contain what has been delivered down to us from the original creation of man to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what has befallen us Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians brought upon us, and after them the Romans. And I think I may say that I have composed this history with all accuracy. I have attempted to enumerate

the high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years. I have also accurately recorded the succession of our kings, and related their actions and polity, as also the power of our monarchs, and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this is what I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I make bold to say, now I have completed the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether Jew or foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could have given so accurate an account to the Greeks as I have done. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness. For our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods, because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many servants as please to learn them, and they give those only the testimony of being wise men who are fully acquainted with our laws, and able to interpret the meaning of the holy writings. And so, though there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have been hardly as many as two or three that have succeeded therein, and immediately got the fruit of their labours.

§ 3. And now perhaps it will not be invidious or unapt, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life,<sup>1</sup> while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or attest that it is true. So I shall here put an end to these Antiquities, which are contained in twenty books and sixty thousand lines. And if God permit me, I shall briefly run over the war again, and what befell us to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I intend also to write four

<sup>1</sup> The Life here referred to, will be found at the beginning of Volume I.

books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his being and concerning our laws, and why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

## I N D E X.

- Aaron, brother of Moses, i. 170, 177, 191, 193, 212, 214, 215, 231, 232, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 346.  
Abel, i. 75.  
Abiathar, David's high priest, i. 395, 397, 413; ii. 21, 37, 41, 48, 54, 64, 66, 67, 73, 74.  
Abigail, first Nabal's wife, then David's, i. 402, 403, 404; ii. 5.  
Abila, i. 264, 289.  
Abimelech, King of Gerar, i. 100, 101, 110, 111.  
Abimelech, son of Gideon, i. 326-329.  
Abishai, David's nephew, i. 405; ii. 3, 4, 9, 20, 23, 24, 38, 43, 49, 55, 58.  
Abner, Saul's first cousin, i. 358, 371, 405; ii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 70.  
Abraham, i. 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110; ii. 61.  
Absalom, son of David, ii. 5, 30, 32, 33-45.  
Acme, iii. 227, 228, 235.  
Actium, famous sea-fight off, iii. 95, 98, 103, 107, 168.  
Adam, i. 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79.  
Adonibezek, i. 307, 308.  
Adonijah, son of David, ii. 5, 63, 64, 65, 66, 72, 73.  
Adriatic sea, i. 3.  
Æbutius, i. 19, 20.  
Agag, i. 373, 376.  
Agrippa, the Great, iii. 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 310, 311, 312, 358, 359, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374.  
Agrippa Junior, son of the former, i. 7, 8, 18, 19, 25, 28, 50, 52, 53, 54; iii. 375, 376, 378, 391, 396, 397, 399, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 408.  
Agrippa, son of Josephus, i. 62.  
Agrippina, mother of Nero, and wife of Claudius, iii. 396, 398, 399.  
Ahab, King of Israel, son of Omri, ii. 131, 133, 134, 136, 138-150.  
Ahaziah, son of Ahab, ii. 150, 153, 154, 155.  
Ahijah, the prophet, ii. 109.  
Ahitophel, ii. 36-42.  
Ai, i. 293, 295.  
Alcimus, high priest, ii. 357-361.  
Alexander the Great, i. 182; ii. 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300.  
Alexander, son of Herod the Great, iii. 132, 147, 156-166, 175, 176, 177, 180-185, 191-195, 199-205, 208, 209.  
Alexandria, i. 60, 69; ii. 302, 318, 325, 327, 329, 335, 375, 376; iii. 61, 305, 364, 365, 366, 384.  
Alexandrium, fortress of, ii. 433; iii. 15, 16, 67, 148, 193, 204.  
Aliturus, a favourite actor of Nero, i. 4.  
Amalekites, the, i. 189, 190, 191, 192, 284, 322, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 407, 413, 414, 415; ii. 183, 184.  
Amasa, Absalom's general, ii. 43, 48, 52, 53, 70.  
Ambition, evil of, ii. 7.  
Amnon, son of David, ii. 5, 30, 31, 32, 33.  
Amram, father of Moses, i. 158, 159, 161.

- Ananias, a Pharisee, and opponent of Josephus, i. 30, 43, 47, 49.
- Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, iii. 14, 24, 48, 54, 55, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77, 79.
- Antioch, ii. 318, 356, 369, 377, 380, 381, 382; iii. 112, 255.
- Antiochus, Epiphanes, ii. 247, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 343, 352, 353, 404.
- Antipater, father of Herod the Great, iii. 2, 3, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31, 44, 45, 46, 62, 78, 106. First called Antipas, iii. 2.
- Antipater, son of Herod the Great, iii. 49, 158, 159, 175, 182, 183, 191, 192, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 214-228, 235, 236.
- Antonia, fortress of, i. 4; ii. 414; iii. 123, 142, 143, 145, 279, 378.
- Antony, Mark, iii. 15, 45, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 70, 71, 75, 77, 79, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 103, 104, 107, 111, 117.
- Anubis, Egyptian god, iii. 276, 277.
- Apamea, ii. 400; iii. 7, 44, 93.
- Arbela, i. 29, 46; ii. 362; iii. 67.
- Archelaus, son and successor of Herod the Great, iii. 209, 236, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 258, 261, 262, 263.
- Aristobulus, son of John Hyrcanus, ii. 413-416. Called Philhellen, ii. 416.
- Aristobulus, son of Alexander Janæus, ii. 431-435; iii. 2-10, 14, 16, 17, 21.
- Aristobulus, brother of Mariamne, iii. 62, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88.
- Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great, iii. 132, 147, 156-166, 175, 176, 183, 192, 194, 199-205, 208, 209.
- Arithmetic, i. 93.
- Ark, Noah's, i. 78, 79, 80, 81; iii. 381.
- Armenia, i. 80, 81; ii. 433, 434; iii. 5, 94.
- Artabanus, King of the Parthians, iii. 384, 385, 386.
- Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, ii. 276-292.
- Asahel, brother of Joab, ii. 3, 4.
- Ascalon, i. 301, 308, 316, 347, 382; ii. 327, 379, 386; iii. 22.
- Ashdod (or Azotus), i. 301, 308, 346, 347; ii. 345, 352, 378, 379, 380.
- Asochis, i. 32, 35, 56; ii. 419.
- Asphaltitis, the Lake, i. 94, 249; ii. 151, 186; iii. 104, 233.
- Astronomy, i. 93.
- Athenians, honours paid by to the Jews, iii. 25, 26.
- Augustus, the Roman Emperor, iii. 45, 49, 62, 63, 66, 95, 97, 103, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 126, 127, 132, 134, 135, 147, 160-165, 167, 170, 171, 189, 190, 194-199, 235, 243, 246, 247, 254, 255, 257-262, 269, 270, 335, 336, 337.
- Azotus, *see* Ashdod.
- Baal, the god of the Tyrians, ii. 174, 175.
- Babylon, i. 84, 85, 92; ii. 99, 207, 209, 215, 218, 225, 226, 227, 231, 238, 240, 248, 249, 273, 353, 392.
- Balaam, i. 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 260, 261.
- Balak, i. 252, 253, 254, 255, 256.
- Balsam, the, iii. 10, 93.
- Baltasar, ii. 240-243.
- Banus, an eremite, i. 2, 3.
- Barak, i. 320, 321, 322.
- Barzillai, ii. 42, 50, 51.
- Batanæa, i. 10, 28; iii. 132, 210, 258.
- Bathsheba, first Uriah's wife, then David's, ii. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 64, 65, 72, 73.
- Beersheba, i. 101, 152, 353; ii. 136, 178.

- Benaiah, ii. 21, 58.  
 Berenice, sister of Agrippa Junior, i. 9, 19, 50, 52; iii. 375, 397.  
 Berosus, i. 81, 83, 91; ii. 205, 238, 239.  
 Berytus, i. 9, 28, 52; iii. 197, 199, 200, 201, 253, 372, 406.  
 Besara, i. 19.  
 Bethel, i. 114, 124, 301, 309, 313, 353, 358, 365; ii. 112, 113, 366.  
 Bethlehem, i. 310, 322, 339, 376, 378; ii. 4, 57, 117.  
 Bethmaus, i. 11, 12.  
 Boaz, i. 340, 341, 342.  
 Brutus, murderer of famous Julius Cæsar, iii. 44, 350.
- Cæsar, the famous Julius, iii. 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 44, 350. All the Roman Emperors called Cæsar, ii. 99, 100.  
 Cæsarea by the sea. *See* Strato's Tower.  
 Cæsarea Philippi, i. 9, 10, 11, 13; iii. 269, 406.  
 Cæsonia, wife of Caius, cruelly murdered, iii. 351, 352.  
 Cain, i. 75, 76, 77.  
 Caius, Roman Emperor, iii. 291, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305-313, 325-354, 358.  
 Caleb, i. 231, 308.  
 Cambyses, son of Cyrus, ii. 251-253.  
 Cana, in Galilee, i. 15, 58; ii. 428.  
 Canaan, land of, i. 88, 91, 92, 93, 96, 97, 105, 113, 116, 121, 141, 143, 144, 152, 155, 156, 159, and *passim*.  
 Capellus (Julius), of Tiberias, i. 6, 11, 12, 44.  
 Carmel, Mount, i. 301; ii. 78, 134, 136; iii. 54.  
 Carus, Herod's catamite, iii. 213.  
 Cassius, one of Julius Cæsar's murderers, iii. 21, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 350.
- III.
- Cestius Gallus, i. 6, 33, 51, 55, 57, 58.  
 Chabolo, i. 34, 36.  
 Chærea, chief assassin of Caius, iii. 327-341, 350, 351, 352, 360, 361, 362, 363.  
 Chaldæa, i. 90, 91; ii. 209.  
 Chaldæans, first astronomers, i. 93. Famous for learning, ii. 232, 234, 235, 241.  
 Children not always like parents, i. 353.  
 Christ, Jesus, iii. 274, 275, 405.  
 Cilicia, i. 87; ii. 187, 377, 381, 386; iii. 52, 195.  
 Circumcision, i. 97, 98, 102; ii. 119, 120, 406; iii. 382, 383.  
 Claudius, Roman Emperor, i. 234; iii. 339, 347, 348, 354-366, 370, 371, 373, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 382, 391, 396, 398.  
 Cleopatra, the famous favourite of Antony, iii. 52, 61, 82, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 107, 111, 117.  
 Coele-Syria, i. 89, 100; ii. 231, 238, 252, 253, 258, 274, 294, 319, 320, 326, 377, 386, 397, 421, 428; iii. 6, 8, 13, 14, 31, 45, 90.  
 Corah, rebellion of, i. 236-244.  
 Crassus, iii. 19, 21.  
 Creation, the, i. 71, 72.  
 Crete, i. 62.  
 Cumanus, governor of Judæa, iii. 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396.  
 Curses pronounced from Mount Ebal, i. 284, 289.  
 Cyprus, i. 87; ii. 417, 418, 422; iii. 260.  
 Cyrene, i. 62.  
 Cyrenius, iii. 264, 268, 269.  
 Cyrus, king of Persia, ii. 240, 243, 248, 249, 250, 251, 263, 264.
- Dagon, god of Ashdod, i. 346, 347; ii. 379.  
 Dabaritta, i. 20, 47.  
 Damascus, i. 6, 89, 92, 95; ii. 19, 144, 167, 193, 195, 296, 392; iii. 6, 7, 8, 30, 93.
- E E

- Dan, place so called, i. 95 ; ii. 112, 113, 129.
- Daniel, the Prophet, ii. 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 299, 347.
- Darius, king of Media, son of Hystaspes, ii. 240, 243, 244, 245, 253, 254, 257, 258, 263, 264, 265, 266, 294, 295, 296.
- David, i. 342, 377, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400-408, 412, 413, 414 ; ii. 1-17, 19-71. David's tomb, ii. 71, 72, 404 ; iii. 173, 174.
- Deborah, the Prophetess, i. 320, 321, 322.
- Decapolis, i. 50, 60.
- Deluge, the, i. 80-82.
- Demons, exorcizing of, ii. 79, 80.
- Dicearchia, i. 4 ; iii. 259, 290, 304, 326.
- Dinah, only daughter of Jacob, i. 118, 123, 153.
- Doeg, the Syrian, i. 392, 394, 395, 397.
- Domitia, wife of the Emperor Domitian, i. 63.
- Domitian, Roman emperor, i. 62 ; iii. 413.
- Dora, i. 6, 301 ; ii. 78, 400, 417 ; iii. 130.
- Ebal, Mount, i. 284, 299.
- Ecbatana, i. 10 ; ii. 245.
- Eden, garden of, i. 72, 73.
- Egypt, i. 79, 92, 93, 96, 97, 110, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 152, 155, 156, 173, 174, 176, and *passim*.
- Egyptians, famous for wisdom, ii. 79.
- Ekron, i. 308, 316, 347, 352 ; ii. 154, 379.
- Eleazar, High-Priest *temp. Ptolemy II.*, i. 68 ; ii. 307, 308, 309, 313, 317.
- Eli, the High-Priest, i. 339, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 367, 395.
- Elijah, the Prophet, ii. 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 148, 154, 155.
- Elisha, the Prophet, ii. 137, 155, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 181, 182.
- Elkanah, father of Samuel, i. 343.
- Emmaus, ii. 344, 345, 366 ; iii. 70, 252, 253, 270.
- Enoch, translated as Elijah, ii. 155.
- Epaphroditus, i. 63, 68.
- Ephratah, i. 124.
- Epicureans, wrong, ii. 247, 248.
- Esau, son of Isaac, i. 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 121, 122, 123, 126.
- Esdras (Ezra), ii. 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.
- Essenes, the, ii. 390, 391 ; iii. 137, 138, 267, 268.
- Esther, ii. 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 291, 292.
- Eunuchs, i. 62, 282 ; ii. 207, 232 ; iii. 180, 213.
- Euphrates, the famous river, i. 73, 252, 256, 317 ; ii. 18, 19, 78, 99, 106, 122, 214, 268, 296 ; iii. 105, 281.
- Eve, i. 72, 73, 74, 75.
- Exorcizing demons, ii. 79, 80.
- Ezekiel, the Prophet, ii. 215, 218, 219, 225.
- Fadus, Cuspius, Governor of Judæa, iii. 376, 377, 378, 379, 390, 391.
- Famines in Judæa, i. 234 ; ii. 221 ; iii. 125, 384.
- Fate, not to be avoided, ii. 150.
- Felix, governor of Judæa, i. 3, 7 ; iii. 396, 397, 400, 401, 402, 403.
- Festivals of the Jews, i. 219-222.
- Festus, Porcius, governor of Judæa, iii. 402, 403, 404.
- Flood, the, i. 80-82.
- Florus, Gessius, i. 5, 6, 9 ; iii. 268, 376, 411, 412.

- Friends generally envious, i. 358, 359.
- Gaba, i. 19.
- Gabara, i. 8, 20, 31, 36, 40, 46.
- Gabaroth, i. 35, 37.
- Gabatho, ii. 125, 129.
- Gadara, i. 8, 14, 51; ii. 345, 421, 424; iii. 134.
- Galilee, i. 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58, 60, 298; ii. 78, 96, 191, 349, 387, 388, 394, 419, and *passim*.
- Gamala, i. 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 27, 28, 58; ii. 428.
- Gath, i. 347, 352, 379, 382, 392, 393, 406, 407, 408, 412, 413; ii. 43, 56, 180, 188, 198.
- Gaulanitis, i. 29; ii. 78.
- Gaza, i. 301, 337, 347; ii. 198, 296, 297, 387, 417, 418, 421, 422; iii. 112.
- Gennesar, lake of, ii. 388; iii. 269.
- Gerar, i. 100, 110, 111; ii. 127.
- Gerizim, Mount, i. 284, 299, 326; ii. 295, 299, 300, 302, 338, 375, 376, 406; iii. 18, 278.
- Gessius. *See* Florus.
- Gibeah, i. 310, 312, 313, 314, 360, 365, 367, 376.
- Gibeonites, trick of the, i. 295, 296, 297.
- Gideon, i. 322, 323, 325, 326.
- Gilead, i. 121, 131, 329, 330, 331; ii. 78, 131, 191, 349, 350, 351, 397, 424, 426.
- Gilgal, i. 293, 295, 298, 299, 358, 363, 366, 367, 372, 374, 376; ii. 51.
- Gischala, i. 8, 12, 13, 16, 17, 20, 29, 36, 41, 46, 47.
- Goliath, the giant, i. 379, 380, 381, 382, 392.
- Gymnasium, set up at Jerusalem, ii. 335.
- Hagar, mother of Ishmael, i. 97, 102.
- Haggai, the Prophet, ii. 263, 264.
- Haman, ii. 280-289.
- Hannah, mother of Samuel, i. 343.
- Haran, i. 90, 107, 114.
- Heber, Jews called Hebrews from, i. 89.
- Hebron, i. 93, 96, 106, 110, 124, 125, 126, 156, 231, 302, 308, 337; ii. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 36, 71, 76, 352.
- Hecatontamachi, ii. 419.
- Helena, Queen of Adiabene, iii. 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 390, 391. Her tomb at Jerusalem, 390.
- Heliopolis, i. 140, 154; ii. 357, 374, 375; iii. 8.
- Herod the Great, son of Antipater, iii. 14, 21, 27, 29, 30, 31, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53-170, 173-209, 211-238, 279, 285, 286.
- Herodium, a fortress built by Herod the Great, iii. 58, 128, 129.
- Herodotus, the famous historian, of Helicarnassus, ii. 100, 118, 119, 204, 205.
- Hezekiah, King of Judah, ii. 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208.
- High priests, vestments of the, i. 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 215, 216; iii. 142, 143, 279, 280, 378. Enumeration of high priests, iii. 408, 409, 410, 411.
- Hippos, i. 8, 24, 51.
- Hiram, king of Tyre, ii. 12, 80, 81, 82, 96, 98.
- Hyrcania, fortress of, ii. 433; iii. 16, 136, 148, 236.
- Hyrcanus, son of Josephus, i. 62.
- Hyrcanus (John), son of Simon, brother of Judas Maccabæus, ii. 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412.
- Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannæus, ii. 431, 435; iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 24-43, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 80, 81, 103, 104, 105, 106.
- Hystaspes, father of Darius, ii. 253.

- Idumæa (Edom), i. 126, 127, 247; ii. 20, 345, 354; iii. 2, 57, 58, 66, 377. Idumæans regarded as Jews, after adopting circumcision and other Jewish rites, ii. 406.
- Isaac, son of Abraham, i. 97, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 125, 159; ii. 61.
- Isaiah, the Prophet, ii. 206, 207, 249.
- Ishbosheth, son of Saul, ii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10.
- Ishmael, Abraham's son by Hagar, i. 97, 98, 102, 110, 131, 159.
- Isis, temple of at Rome, iii. 275, 276, 277.
- Israel, name of given to Jacob, i. 122.
- Izates, son of Monobazus, iii. 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390.
- Jabesh, i. 315, 361, 362, 416.
- Jabin, i. 320, 321.
- Jacob, son of Isaac, i. 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 145, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159.
- Jadon, ii. 113, 114, 213.
- Jael, i. 321.
- James, brother of Jesus Christ, stoned to death, iii. 405.
- Jamnia, i. 29, 302; ii. 188, 345, 351, 377, 398.
- Japha, i. 29, 35, 41.
- Jephthah, rash vow of, i. 330, 331.
- Jehu, king of Israel, ii. 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175.
- Jeremiah, the prophet, ii. 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225, 227, 228, 231, 248.
- Jericho, i. 252, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 300, 301, 318, 319; ii. 194, 224, 366; iii. 10, 66, 72, 73, 86, 93, 193, 233, 239, 261.
- Jeroboam, son of Nebat, ii. 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 199.
- Jerusalem, i. 2, 6, 11, 13, 21, 29, 31, 40, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61, 96, 295, 300, 301, 308, 309; ii. 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 22, 24, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 50, 59, 60, 71, 74, 75, 79, 89, 97, 98, 105, 113, and *passim*.
- Jesse, the father of David, i. 342, 376, 377, 378, 380.
- Jesus Christ, iii. 274, 275, 405.
- Jesus, the son of Sapphias, i. 12, 22, 42, 44, 45.
- Jesus, the captain of some robbers near Ptolemais, i. 17, 18.
- Jews, when name of first given, ii. 274. Various sects of, i. 2, 3; ii. 390, 391; iii. 266, 267, 268. Various decrees in favour of, iii. 32-43. Banished from Rome by the Emperor Tiberius, iii. 277, 278.
- Jezebel, wife of Ahab, ii. 131, 133, 134, 136, 138, 172.
- Joab, nephew and commander-in-chief of David, ii. 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 34, 35, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 70, 73, 74.
- Jochebed, mother of Moses, i. 159, 160, 161.
- John, of Gischala, a constant opponent of Josephus, i. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 54, 55.
- John the Baptist, iii. 284.
- Jonah, the prophet, ii. 186, 187.
- Jonathan, son of Saul, i. 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391, 394, 398, 415.
- Jonathan, brother of Judas Mac-cabæus, ii. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 377, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397.

- Jonathan, a Pharisee, an opponent of Josephus, i. 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49.
- Joppa, ii. 187, 378, 380, 392, 395, 398, 428; iii. 64, 112, 130.
- Jordan, the river, i. 7, 58, 59, 93, 95, 251, 252, 264, 288, 289, 290, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 319, 331, 360, 361, 362, 366; ii. 3, 5, 39, 41, 42, 43, 50, 78, 349, 351, 366, 419, 421; iii. 101, 136, 233.
- Joseph, son of Jacob, i. 127, 128-156, 177.
- Joseph, brother of Herod the Great, iii. 21, 58, 63, 70, 71.
- Josephus, i. 1-63 *passim*. Also iii. 174. Father of Josephus, i. 1, 2, 31.
- Joshua, son of Nun, i. 191, 231, 262, 263, 285, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 304, 306, 307, 308.
- Josiah, king of Judah, ii. 113, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.
- Jotapata, i. 29, 49, 51, 52, 60.
- Judæa, i. 92, and *passim*.
- Judas Maccabæus, son of Mattathias, ii. 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 355, 356, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364.
- Julias, i. 58, 59.
- Justus, son of Josephus, i. 62.
- Justus, son of Pistus, i. 7, 8, 11, 15, 27, 28, 42, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 60.
- Keturah, wife of Abraham, i. 106, 107, 109, 159, 166.
- Laban, brother of Rebecca, i. 90, 108, 109, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124.
- Lacedæmonians, claim to be of the same stock as the Jews, ii. 332, 333. Embassy to them, sent by Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus, ii. 389, 390.
- Lamech, and his wives and children, i. 76, 77.
- Law, promulgation of the, on Mount Sinai, i. 195, 196, 197, 198, 199. Various Mosaic laws, i. 225, 226, 227, 267-283.
- Leah, wife of Jacob, i. 117, 118, 153.
- Levites, the cities of the, i. 263, 302, 308. The Levites exempted from military functions, i. 227.
- Libanus, Mount (Lebanon), i. 10, 87, 88, 230, 298, 301, 316; ii. 78, 80, 82, 97, 100, 185, 257, 435; iii. 22, 72, 364.
- Lot, Abraham's nephew, i. 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100. His wife and daughters, i. 99, 100.
- Machærus, fortress of, ii. 433; iii. 15, 16, 17, 283, 284.
- Mahanaim, ii. 42, 43, 50.
- Manetho, i. 83.
- Manna, i. 187, 188.
- Manoah, father of Samson, i. 332, 333, 334.
- Mariamne, wife of Herod the Great, iii. 57, 74, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91, 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.
- Mattathias, father of Judas Maccabæus, ii. 339, 340, 341, 342.
- Melchisedek, i. 95, 96.
- Memphis, i. 163; ii. 99, 100, 325, 335; iii. 23.
- Menander, the Ephesian, on Tyrian matters, ii. 97, 132, 199, 200.
- Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, ii. 21, 22, 38, 49, 50, 55.
- Mesopotamia, i. 90, 91, 97, 107, 113, 114, 124, 152, 153, 159; ii. 23, 24, 392.
- Michal, Saul's daughter, and wife of David, i. 371, 383, 384, 385, 387, 404; ii. 5, 16.
- Midian, i. 166.
- Miriam, sister of Moses, i. 160, 161, 191, 200, 247.
- Mizpeh, i. 351, 359; ii. 129, 228, 229, 230.
- Modius (*Æquus*), i. 11, 19, 28.

- Monobazus, king of Adiabene, iii. 379, 380, 381.  
 Monobazus, son of the former, iii. 380, 381, 382, 387, 390.  
 Mordecai, ii. 279, 280, 282-292.  
 Moriah, Mount, i. 103.  
 Moses, i. 69, 70, 79, 107, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176-288; ii. 58.  
 Mundus, iii. 275-277.
- Naamah, mother of Rehoboam, ii. 110.  
 Nabal, first husband of Abigail, i. 402, 403, 404.  
 Naomi, mother-in-law of Ruth, i. 339, 340, 341, 342.  
 Nathan, the prophet, ii. 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 64, 65.  
 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, ii. 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240.  
 Nehemiah, ii. 272, 273, 274, 275, 276.  
 Neopolitanus, i. 20.  
 Nero, Roman emperor, i. 4, 7, 60; iii. 398, 399, 402, 403, 404, 406, 411, 412.  
 Nicolaus of Damascus, i. 81, 92; ii. 19, 405, 420; iii. 2, 12, 18, 174, 196, 197, 198, 201, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 242, 243, 245, 246, 257.  
 Nile, famous river, i. 165, 172, 173.  
 Nimrod, i. 84, 88.  
 Nineveh, i. 89; ii. 187, 192, 205.  
 Nisan, name of month, i. 79, 175, 214; ii. 265.  
 Noah, i. 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89.  
 Nob, city of, i. 392, 394, 395.  
 Nod, land of, i. 76.  
 Notes, critical, i. 76, 79, 104, 111, 127, 128, 144, 164, 173; ii. 89, 250, 279, 284, 304, 422; iii. 147, 243, 321, 338.
- Obadiah, protector of the prophets in Ahab's reign, ii. 133, 134.  
 Og, king of Bashan, i. 251.  
 Olives, Mount of, ii. 37.  
 Omri, king of Israel, father of Ahab, ii. 129, 130.  
 Ophir, ii. 101, 103.  
 Orpah, daughter-in-law of Naomi, i. 339, 340.
- Palestine, i. 88, 89, 100, 177; ii. 392.
- Parentalia, festival of the (our *All Souls' Day*), iii. 363.
- Paulina, trick put on, iii. 275-277.
- Pelusium, i. 373; ii. 204, 216, 335; iii. 18, 22, 61.
- Persea, i. 329; ii. 383; iii. 236, 377, 399.
- Petra, i. 248, 261; iii. 3, 14, 58, 284.
- Petronius, governor of Judaea under Caius and Claudius, iii. 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 367, 368, 369.
- Pharaoh, *passim*. Meaning of word, ii. 99.
- Pharisees, the, i. 30; iii. 212, 266, 267.
- Phasaelus, son of Antipater, and brother of Herod the Great, iii. 21, 27, 28, 31, 45, 46, 47, 54, 55, 56, 59, 248.
- Pheroras, son of Antipater, and brother of Herod the Great, iii. 21, 67, 71, 74, 106, 107, 137, 156, 157, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 184, 185, 186, 194, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.
- Philip, son of Jacimus, i. 8, 9, 10, 11, 28.
- Philistines, the, i. 298, 329, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 344, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 354, 357, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 377, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 386, 392, 397, 399; ii. 13, 14, 18, 55, 56.
- Pilate, Pontius, iii. 270, 273, 274, 278, 279.

- Pistus, father of Justus, i. 7, 15, 27.  
 Placidus, i. 33, 34, 60.  
 Polybius, the famous historian, ii. 320, 353.  
 Pompey, the famous, iii. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22.  
 Poppaea, wife of Nero, i. 4; iii. 412.  
 Potiphar, and his wife, i. 132, 133, 134, 135, 138.  
 Priests. *See* High-priests. *See also* i. 1, 225, 226; ii. 67.  
 Ptolemais, i. 17, 19, 33, 50, 60; ii. 369, 376, 377, 380, 382, 393, 394, 396, 417, 418, 420, 421, 434; iii. 54, 64, 72, 108, 253, 284, 289, 306.  
 Ptolemy, Herod's procurator, i. 20, 21.  
 Ptolemy, Philadelphus, i. 68, 69; ii. 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317.  
 Purifications in the wilderness, i. 222, 223, 224.  
 Puteoli, i. 329; ii. 383; iii. 236, 377, 399.  
 Rabbah, i. 251; ii. 23, 30.  
 Rachel, wife of Jacob, i. 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 153, 358.  
 Rahab, i. 289, 290, 292, 293.  
 Rain-bow, institution of the, i. 82.  
 Ramah, the birthplace and dwelling of Samuel, i. 343, 354, 356, 360, 376, 387, 388, 401; ii. 128, 129.  
 Rebecca, wife of Isaac, i. 90, 107, 108, 110, 112, 115, 125.  
 Refuge, cities of, i. 302.  
 Rehoboam, son of Solomon and Naamah, ii. 19, 35, 110, 111, 112, 117, 118, 119, 120, 199.  
 Riblah, ii. 224, 226.  
 Romans, the, and Judas Macca-baeus, ii. 361, 362. Romans and John Hyrcanus, ii. 406, 407. Other Roman leagues with the Jews, iii. 25, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 49, 50, 51. Edicts of the Romans in the reign of Augustus *re* the Jews, iii. 170, 171, 172, 173.  
 Ruth, i. 339, 340, 341, 342.  
 Sabbaths, fighting on, i. 25; ii. 301, 340, 366; iii. 11.  
 Sacrifices in the wilderness, i. 217, 218, 219.  
 Sadducees, the, ii. 391, 411, 412; iii. 267, 405.  
 Salem, old name for Jerusalem, i. 95, 96.  
 Salome, sister of Herod the Great, iii. 21, 90, 113, 114, 117, 118, 147, 156, 157, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 184, 187, 194, 207, 208, 211, 212, 229, 234, 237, 242, 258, 269.  
 Samaria, i. 40; ii. 19, 130, 131, 139, 149, 153, 159, 162, 164, 165, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 181, 182, 186, 187, 190, 191, 194, 199, 200, 409, 410, and elsewhere.  
 Samaritans, origin of the, ii. 200, 201, 232, 251. Their hostility to the Jews, ii. 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 299, 300, 393, 394, 395, 396. They build a temple on Mount Gerizim, ii. 295, 297, 300, 375, 376.  
 Samson, i. 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339.  
 Samuel, son of Elkanah and Hannah, i. 342, 343, 344, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 387, 388, 401, 409.  
 Sanhedrim, the, i. 11; iii. 29.  
 Sarah, wife of Abraham, i. 90, 91, 92, 93, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106.  
 Saul, the son of Kish, i. 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395,

- 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 415, 416, 417.  
 Scythopolis, i. 5, 8, 20, 51, 301, 416; ii. 327, 351, 393, 421.  
 Sebaste, ii. 409; iii. 116, 123, 124, 132, 148, 165, 166, 204.  
 Sects, the, of the Jews, i. 2, 3; ii. 390, 391; iii. 266, 267, 268.  
 Sennacherib, ii. 201-205.  
 Sephoris, i. 6, 7, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 29, 31, 35, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60; ii. 419; iii. 67, 250, 253, 269.  
 Septuagint, or Greek version of the Old Testament, ii. 307, 308, 309, 314, 315, 316, 317.  
 Seth, and his posterity, i. 77, 78.  
 Shechem, i. 123, 124, 129, 284, 299, 302, 326; ii. 110, 112, 299, 338, 406, 425.  
 Shiloh, i. 299, 312, 315, 343; ii. 121.  
 Shinar, plain of, i. 83, 85.  
 Sicarii, the, iii. 405, 406.  
 Sidon, i. 88, 97, 302; ii. 78, 296.  
 Silas, iii. 297, 369, 370, 375.  
 Simon, brother of Judas Macca-baeus, ii. 364, 365, 366, 367, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 400, 401.  
 Simonias, i. 19.  
 Simonides, son of Josephus, i. 62.  
 Sinai, Mount, i. 167, 170, 171, 172, 177, 182, 183, 193, 195, 198, 199, 217, 227, 228; ii. 89, 137.  
 Sisera, i. 321.  
 Sodom, i. 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100.  
 Sogane, i. 8, 40.  
 Solomon, son of David, and his successor, ii. 13, 17, 20, 30, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109.  
 Strabo, of Cappadocia, ii. 410, 420; iii. 7, 12, 18, 20, 21, 24, 79.  
 Strato's Tower, ii. 414, 415, 417; iii. 14, 112, 123, 130, 373, 401.  
 Susa, the metropolis of Persia, ii. 246, 272, 279, 282, 283, 291, 292.  
 Syllaeus, iii. 179, 196, 197, 198.  
 Tabernacle, the, built by Moses in the Wilderness, i. 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206.  
 Tabor, Mount, i. 29, 301, 321; ii. 78; iii. 18.  
 Tamar, daughter of David, ii. 13, 30, 31, 32, 33.  
 Tamar, daughter of Absalom, and wife of Rehoboam, ii. 35.  
 Tarichæae, i. 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 41, 42, 45, 59, 60; iii. 21, 399.  
 Tarsus, i. 87; ii. 104, 187.  
 Temple, the, of Solomon, ii. 82-96; burnt by orders of Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 225, 226. Building of the second Temple, ii. 260-265. Third Temple of Herod, iii. 138-145.  
 Terah, the father of Abraham, i. 90.  
 Thecoa (Tekoa), i. 61; ii. 117, 152.  
 Theudas, an impostor, iii. 390, 391.  
 Tiberias, i. 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 60; iii. 270, 309, 372, 399.  
 Tiberius, Roman emperor, iii. 270, 272, 277, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302.  
 Titus, son of Vespasian, afterwards Roman emperor, i. 53, 60, 61, 62; ii. 318, 319, 397.  
 Trachonitis, i. 10, 18, 89; ii. 435; iii. 132, 133, 165, 186-189, 197, 209, 210.  
 Tyre, i. 8, 55, 59; ii. 80, 81, 82, 85, 96, 199, 200, 240, 296, 297, 408; iii. 11, 21, 47, 48, 51, 52, 104, 201.

- Uriah, murder of, ii. 25, 26, 27.  
Uzziah, king of Judah, ii. 186, 188, 189, 190.
- Varus, i. 9, 10, 11, 28; iii. 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 242, 243, 253, 254, 255.
- Vespasian, Roman emperor, father of Titus and Domitian, i. 50, 52, 53, 59, 60, 62; ii. 318, 319; iii. 376.
- Vesuvius, eruption of Mount, in the days of Titus, iii. 397.
- Vienne, iii. 262.
- Vitellius, procurator of Judæa, iii. 278, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 306.
- Witch of Endor, i. 408, 409, 410.
- World, creation of the, i. 71, 72.
- Xanthicus (Macedonian name of the month Nisan), i. 79, 175, 176, 214, 247; ii. 265.
- Xerxes, son and successor of Darius, ii. 266, 267, 268, 272, 273, 276.
- Zachariah, the prophet, ii. 263, 264.
- Zadok, high priest, ii. 21, 37, 41, 45, 46, 48, 54, 64, 65, 67, 69, 74.
- Zeruiah, sister of David, and mother of Joab, Asahel, and Abishai, i. 405; ii. 3, 43.

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